

MEMOIRES

Of the reign of

King CHARLES I.

WITH A

CONTINUATION

TO THE

Happy Restauration
O F

King CHARLES II.

B Y

Sir Philip Warwick, Knight.

Published from the Original Manuscript.

W I T H

An Alphabetical Table.

L O N D O N,

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READER. TO THE

THele Memorie were written by a Gentleman of great Integrity and Wisdom, who by means of his Station and Employment under King Charles the First, of Blessed Memory, and near attendance on His Person; had great opportunities of knowing the most considerable Occurrences of those Times, with the secret Springs by which they moved: as also the Character of the Person that was most concerned and active in them.

And as the Publishing of the same and Actions of His Royal Majesty and His Friends, and to do right great inducements to his Majesty's Re- marks: So to rectify and preserve the Memory of that injured Prince from the false Imputations and indignities that have been cast upon Him by Prejudice and Malicious Men, is the cause of this Publication.



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More is not needful to be said, than to assure the World, that these Papers are Genuine, and published from the Authors Original Manuscripts by a Faithful Friend with whom they were intrusted. Except I may have leave to add, That as the Author wrote with Freedom according to his Genius and his Principles, so 'tis hop'd he will be read with Candor and just Allowances by all Gentlemen of what Sentiments soever.



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MEMOIRES,

O R

Reflexions upon the Reigne

O F K I N G

C H A R L E S I.

ON March the 25 1625 King James died, and his onely Son, Charles the first, was immediately proclaimed King; a Prince of a most excellent temper, and strength of understanding, and regularity of affections, having no transports unto any vice, but endowed with habits of knowledge and piety, and so unapt to have made any invasion upon the liberty or property of his Subjects, but as some early rude attaques of a popular faction seem'd to force him to defend his Sovereignty.

King Charles I. his accession to the throne.

B

Where-

The management of Government with regard to the severall Factions in the reigne of Queen Elisabeth, and

Where-ever the Prince is not jealous of underminers, and active to maintaine the establisht Government, there will never want Spirits given to change, who will attempt it, and make religion their shelter for rebellion. And thus even vigilant Queen Elisabeth was troubled with her *Gospellers*, upon pretense of a more refined purity. These men soon drew over to themselves or party many of the wealthy and trading Citizens generally in the Corporations, and from thence crept into the neighbouring countries, and infected many of the Yeomanry and Gentry: and not long after broacht principles, which serv'd to lessen soveraigne and civil authority, and a pulse was rais'd towards an Aristocratical government under a kingly title; which this wise Queen was soon alarm'd with, and oppos'd their Ecclesiastical encroachments with her new erected Court of High Commission. And she so asserted her prerogative in the House of Commons, that in the 35 year of her reign, as she stood in need of such a resolution, so she shew'd it, that she kept all in due temper, And when Dissenters, who had separated from *Rome*, grew as dangerous to the Government, as the Romanists, how remote soever they were one from another



other in opinion, she involv'd them both under one title of *Recusants* : and her Commons made little impression on her Sovereignty.

King James laboured under the same of K. James. difficulties; but his watchfullnes (or use of the reins of Government) was not equall with hers. His Favourites were more countenanc't, than his States-men, and his States-men permitted his Favourite-Countrymen to make a harvest in the Crown-revenue, where the English gleaners carried off almost as much corne, as the authoriz'd cart. This Prince's reign was peaceable and pleasurable : his conference with the learned Protestant Dissenters (according to the present new phrase) shewed his great learning in overthrowing their arguments, and in gaining from them some promises (too soon forgot by them) of a better conformity; and his great wisdom, in not onely approving, but maintaining both the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, made him appeare a great Divine. And he made as rational and truly politick speeches of the nature of government, and of the good temper of the *English* Monarchy, as most tongues or pens could expresse : but to be short, the practicall part was wanting : and in

the latter end of his reign, having a most strong affection to marry his onely Son to the Infanta of Spain, which was crosse-grain'd generally unto the inclination of the people of England, the Ecclesiastick and Civil moles cast up so many loose and black suspicions, that he was thought no good Protestant, that did not think, that Protestantisme was not like to be undermin'd. And this Prince having at this time a young Favourite, Sir George Villiers, of a noble family, and a Gentleman of a generous mind and great courage, and a most manly and comely person, whom he had rais'd unto the high title of Duke of Buckingham, and to whose conduct the Prince himselve in his journey into Spain was entrusted, there was great liberty of censure, and consequently of dissatisfaction; and the disaffected had no apprehensions of danger by their free talking: so as every man discours'd, as if they had been under no restraints of authority; and the ill-willers unto the establisht government multiplied their numbers, and fixt their roots dayly deeper. Yet the Prince being return'd out of Spain, where he had given great evidences, how well instructed and how firm he was in his owne religion, the Favourite both of King and Prince became

became a kind of Favourite unto the two Houses of Parliament: and all persons concurr'd in an ill-advised and popular-humor'd war with Spain.

In this ill conjuncture this pacifick Prince, King James, departed this life; and the Favourite having a great ascendant on his new Master, with this excessse of favour and fortune, and laden with plenty of Crown-revenue, and offices of the best value and of highest and most publick concerne; it is no marvell, that the auncient Nobility of both Kingdoms, who were at Court, as the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and Marquis Hamilton, (who drew with them the Scotch partie) and the Earle of Pembroke, and his Brother Montgomery, Salisbury, and others, (who were followed by the English) brought a great distemper of humors in Court, and that distill'd it selfe soon into the veyns of the Country: and thus a displeasure to the Favourite soon lessen'd the duty and reverence, which was due to the Prince. Thus the Factions of a Court alwaies feed the peccant humors of the City and Country; so as commonly the Throne is most endanger'd by those, whose obligation it is to uphold it, and who most commonly suffer with it.

The state of the Court, upon King Charles's accession to the Crown.

With this fowre humor in the stomach of the Nation, this most excellent Prince in himselfe and in his own disposition ascended the throne; and now all men were grown great Divines and Statesmen, and the multitude were to judge, how a Prince, that by the Municipall laws was limited in some one part of his authority, (tho' no body could do the same thing without him, but had onely an interest to consent with him and for him) could be reputed Sovereaigne: and how a Church could be truly Apostolick, and yet at liberty to bind men to her rules of order and decency, which were not practis'd by the Apostles; which was very offensive unto tender consciences. Now they have in a great measure unpinn'd the firmnes of the Government, who can call in the *Many*, to determine disputes of this nature. And thus wee see, how all became unhinged.

The King's
marriage
with the
Lady Hen-
rietta Maria,
Sister of the
French King.

Weighing anchor in this foule weathe, the King began his voyage. The first thing he did was to call a Parliament, which he appointed to meet the 18 of June following, 1625. Before that could meet, he sent away the Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Carlisle, and the Earle of Holland unto the French Court, as his Ambassadors, and by his proxie,

proxie, which was given to the Duke of Chevereux, his espousals were celebrated by Cardinal Richelieu with the Sister of the King of France, the Lady Henrietta Maria; a Lady of an excellent aire and beauty of countenance and livelines of mind; who was soon brought over by his Ambassadors, and for whom staying some little time at Canterbury, and she landing at Dover, they met on those downes, which from Canterbury are a good part of the way. His Majestie soon brought her up to London, where the plague extreemly raging, the glory and joy of the Court was lessened; nevertheless it was very splendid.

The troubles and uncomfortablenes almost of his whole reigne wee may divide into these stages.

The division
of his reigne
into severall
parts.

1. What befell him during the short time of life, after this, of the Duke of Buckingham, or in his three Parliaments: the first whereof began in 1625, and the last ended in March 1628.

2. What difficulties he struggled with to support the government from this year 1628, unto the year 1637: when the Scots began their first commotions, which improved it selfe soon into a downright rebellion: and in all this time in how firme a posture and esteeme the

King's affaires stood among the neighbouring Princes : and in how peaceable and plentiful a condition the Subject was at home.

3. What brought on the two Parliaments, both begun in the year 1640; one in Aprill, the other in November following.

4. The irreconcilable and never to be satisfied appetite unto a change in government in the long Parliament, (as they us'd to call it) begun in November 1640.

5. Of the war begun 1642, and the successes of it betwixt that and 1648; when this good Prince was most barbarously and traiterously murdered by his owne Subjects.

6. Of the disasters, which befell his disloyall Lords and Commons by the defection against them of their owne Army: of their erecting their Idol, Cromwell, as the Protector of England, and of his prosperity against rebellious England and Ireland: of the traverses he mett with from his owne Army, and of his discomposed death, and laying aside his Son and Successor in his Protectorship, Richard, and the tame and heartlesse being laid aside of his Son Henry in Ireland: and of the various
and

and confused changes in the Army, till blasted by God, all the Usurpations ended in the happy restitution of our present gracious King Charles the II.

The observations, that shall be made on the severall reflexions, that shall be here put downe, are these:

Observations
arising from
the severall
facts and
events of his
reigne

How little the best Princes can think themselves secure, if some leading men in their own Courts fall into faction, and infect those out of their verge, and spread jealousies, and nourish distasts, and stop it not, till it poyson the Populacy or Multitude.

How apt a people are to be led blindfold by the Representatives, which they choose themselves, rather than to be guided by their Prince, whom the Law, as well as sound reason, declares their true Representative.

How dangerous a few subtil heads are to an established government, when they are back'd by the many hands of a Multitude.

How insecure those prime designing heads are, when the numerous hands find, that they have misemploy'd them.

How fatall the severall changes were to every sect of Innovators.

The degenerous Nobility being degenerated, and made uselesse by the Commons,

to

Memoires of the Reigne

to whom they had been as servile, as they were haughty towards their Prince.

The Commons as much lorded over by their owne Army, as they had lorded it over the Lords.

The Army as refractory to their Leaders, as their Leaders had bin to those, who gave them their commission.

The two confederating Kingdoms of England and Scotland so little observing their strict Covenant and tye, that the one became a prey, or was reduced into a Province unto the other; and the third, as miserably treated, as they had butcherly and barbarously surprized and treated those of the English.

The Episcopal Clergy saw the law of retaliation exercised on the Presbyterian by the Phanatick, and the Presbyterian saw the Phanatick brought into as great a distraction by themselves, as they had brought on all the rest.

Here wee shall find a gracious and a serious Prince by diversity of counsels drawn off from his owne judgement; one while making unhappy denials, and at another more unhappy condescensions. But Providence at last so own'd his cause, and time so vindicated his honor, that never Prince was more truly lamented, nor his Posterity by

of King CHARLES I. 11

by divine blessing more wonderfully re-
establish'd.

The 18 of June being come, the Par-
liament met, Sir Thomas Crew being
chosen Speaker; after the King had made
a gracious Speech, (to do them right)
they frankly gave him two Subsidies of
the Layety, voting the Papists to pay
double; and the Clergy gave him three
Subsidies for themselves. But a little leaven
was in the lump; for the Commons
presented him the Bill of Tonnage and
Poundage but for a Year, which had for-
merly (most usually) bin given for the
life of the Prince; (especially from
Henry the VII his time.) And the reason
I conceive of this caution or limitation
was, because that King James, besides the
Customs, which were rated but low, yet
ever generally rated by the King, had
raised some new Impositions on severall
imported and exported commodities;
which Prerogative was esteemed a just
and necessary flower of the Crowne; be-
cause the rate upon merchandize cannot
well be steddily set, in regard forraign
Princes can impose in their Countries
what rate they please, upon our imported
commodities among them; and there-
fore in all Nations such rates on forraign
commodities from time to time are varied
by

*His first
Parliament.*

*The Bill of
Tonnage and
Poundage.*

by every Prince, that they may be balanced and hold proportion unto forraign duties on their owne commodities: and Queen Elifabeth had done the same on Currants, &c. The Lords not satisfied with the limitations of this Bill, passed it not; probably foreseeing, that the King was not like to assent thereunto.

Adjourned
to Oxford.

The Plague made it necessary to adjourn this Parliament, and they were to meet at Oxford the first of August following, where inauspiciously they did; for by this time Buckingham's greatness was perceived, and highly envied at Court, as well as in the Country; and he, who not long before had been a Favourite of a Parliament for breaking the Spanish match, is now the mark they shoot their displeasure at. And at Oxford the Parliament is eager in the laying open of grievances; and principally in laying the cause or occasion of them on Buckingham; of which the King being impatient, since (unlesse they had bin predisposed too too much to make misrepresentations) the few months of his reigne could not be obnoxious to such a charge; and likewise being angry to be ill charactered to his People, he resolved to put an end to this sitting: and sending down the Black-Rod

to

to call up the Commons unto the Lords-house, in order to their dissolution, they being then resolved into a grand Committee, and having some inkling of what was determined, when the Black-Rod knockt at the door with his staff, (which is the usual manner and voice of authority to be presently admitted) the men of the Tribunitiall spirit (for God be thanked, wee have no such Officers among us, tho' wee have Orators) would not let the Speaker, Sir Thomas Crew, take the Chair to admit the King's Messenger, untill one Mr. Glanvill, an eminent Lawyer, and of a warm temper, had framed a Protestation, that his Majestie might have thanks for his gracious answer to their Petition for Religion; and for his care of their healths, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous Sicknes-time; professing their loyalty and their readines to supply his Majestie in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time; which was a wild and tumultuous essay, to be made at a Committee, which had no authority to treat of any such thing. Besides, whenever the King sends his Black-Rod, the House (much more a Committee) is immediately to break off their discourse, tho' they be in the middle of it: so as this action
express

Dissolved..

expressed much fervor, but no prudence; and therefore going up to attend the King's Commission in this heat and disorder, it served onely to justify his Majesty's resolution of dissolving them, which was done on the 12 of August, 1625, as soon as they come up to the House of Lords. So abruptly and tumultuously ended this first Parliament. This on all hands turn'd much to the disreputation of the Nation abroad; for Forraigners saw, how little the King could do without his Parliament, and how little the Parliament was like to do for him; and therefore Spain and the Emperor perceived little danger in that disposal, which they had made, of the Palsgrave, the King's brother in law, his Countries; and France and Holland knew, if the King would pursue a Spanish war, he must truckle under them.

The Duke of
Buckingham's
greatness.

The Duke of Buckingham's greatness in King Jame's time hath been describ'd in that King's Reign, whereof some Memoires have been made; and how by breaking of the match with Spain, and bringing the Prince, now King, home safe, he became a Favourite in Parliament: but he managing his glory to the eclips of the other great men, it was ill brookt, that he should be found Favourite both to
Father

Father and Son. His want of experience, as having never seen the reverse of fortune, made him too great an Enterpriser to succeed in what he unadvisedly undertook; for besides moulding this Court to the advantage principally of his own Family, the females whereof he numerously dispers'd into the noblest families of the Nobility, thinking thereby to strengthen himselfe, instead of judiciously mollifying the misunderstandings betwixt the two Houses and the King, he unadvisedly (for in Spain he had received personal affronts upon some amours he had made) runs the King into a war with that Nation; which tho' begun in the last King's time, he knew the present King's treasure could not discharge; and thereupon a considerable Navy with good store of Land-forces are employed in a designe to surprize Cadiz; (at least to burn the ships in that harbor) and if possibly they could, to meet with the Spanish Plate-fleet; but tho' there was good courage shewed, there was not good conduct; so they fail'd of the former, and met not with the latter; and upon the return, the Generalls laid the blame one on the other: so inauspicious was the first war, as well as first Parliament.

The expedition against Cadiz.

And

A Loan.

The second
Parliament.

The factions
at Court, and
in the two
Houses of
Parliament.

And now, to pay the ships and men off, the Duke's Confidents and Counsellors had propos'd an attempt, which usually breeds more discontent, than yields fruit, of sending to rich men letters of Privy-seal for a Loan. But this course was very impolitick ; for a necessity there was of calling a new Parliament ; and it was summon'd to meet the February following, 1625.

Here it was soon perceived, how numerous and considerable the Ill-willers to Buckingham's greatnes were at Court ; so as the popular Lords in the Upper-House, such as have bin named before, together with Essex, Say, Sheffield, now Mulgrave, &c. and the great Orators in the House of Commons, such as Diggs, Sandys, Hollis, Selden, and Elliot, drawing their reflexive heat from the other great luminaries, made this Session more unfortunate, than the former Parliament. And to shew with what metal their arrows were headed, and what bellows blew this fire, an inconsiderate, as well as inconsiderable, Court-Dependent, and one familiar with and usually divertizing the Court-Lords, (Dr. Turner a Physician) brought into the Parliament querees (a new-fashion charge) against the Duke of Buckingham: and we have lived

lived to see that species of charging men much improv'd; for it hath bin admitted in the House of Commons for a Member to say, *I will charge such a great man, being of the King's Council, for having divulged the King's Council, or, I will produce one, that will charge him therewith;* but when in that case it was reply'd, *all Junto-Councillors must with Forraign Ministers divulge Princes counsels, or else there could be no accommodation or peace in times or points of difference;* and that, that word *divulge*, would bear no legall charge, unless *betray* were added to it, in a heat that Article pass'd; tho' the person, who brought in the article first, did not at the last reading confirm it with the additional word *betray*. Querees therefore are rather to be expounded, as trayling for a hare, not having found her; than pursuing her, having found her. But the Querees were these:

I. *Whether the King had not lost the regality of the seas during Buckingham's being Admiral.* Dr. Turner's queres.

II. *Whether the late ill successes of the Fleet had not happened by the Admirall's having not personally executed his place.*

C

III. *Whe-*

III. *Whether the Duke had not engrossed all great Offices into his disposall, and preferred thereto his owne unfit kindred.*

IV. *Whether he had not sold places of Judicature, &c.*

V. *Whether his Mother was not Patronesse of the Popish Party.*

VI. *Whether immense liberality had not wasted the King's treasure.*

Mr. Cook's
scandalous
invective.

These were so exaggerated, that a sulphurious vapour flew from an unadvised mouth of Mr. Clement Cook, who invectively said, *'Twas better to dye by a Forraigne Enemy, than to be destroyed at home.* The wettest and greenest wood would have taken fire at these flames; and so the King complains to the Houses both of Turner and Cook, and receives civill, but unsatisfactory, answers.

Earle of
Bristoll.

And to pour new oyle into this flame, the Earle of Britoll, the late Ambassador in Spain, pursues Buckingham, and they both charge one another with Treason. The King's Councell at Law would have pursu'd Bristoll by indictment: but the Lords-House favouring him, and posselt of his Articles, would not let it be carried unto the

the common-Law, untill they had heard so much of it, as they might judge it fit to be remitted thither. And the Commons thought it fit for them likewise to accuse the Duke of Buckingham by XIII Articles; but he made such a calme and submissive Reply, shewing that, what they principally charged him with, was done in the last King's time, and that the generall pardon since had acquitted him thereof, (saying, he laid hold of it) that in some measure it sweetned them for the present towards him. In this Parliament they resolv'd to give the King by Bill three Subsidies; but withall determined, not to proceed therein, (tho' the Forraign engagements would admit no delays) but as the impeachment intended against the Duke and other grievances were to accompany it; and therefore the King dissatisfied; resolv'd to dissolve them: which was done the 15 of June 1626.

Second Par-
liament dis-
solved.

And now, affairs being thus in disorder, and persons in passion, it cannot be expected, that Counsels should be very sound, or well weighed; necessities corrupting the judgement, and dangers making men lay hold of that to sustaine them, which is either too weak to do it, or too thorny for them long to

The three
Subsidies en-
deavoured
by way of
Loan to be
levied.

graspe; and accordingly an advice was taken to raise a Summe by way of loan, equal unto three Subsidies, which that Parliament had voted, and agreed on, but not carried up the Act; and for this resolution there was a very equitable pretence, since his Majestie was then in action, and engaged in a warr, advised by a Parliament, and for support of the continuing charge thereof, had anticipated his owne revenue very deeply. In such conjunctures, where there are seeming reasons on both sides, each side gaines some Party to owne him; but in such disputes the highest authority hath most commonly the worst end of the staff; for few can discern the just provocations given to a Prince, or his ill usage; but all can resolve this, that their liberty of not being taxed, without their Representatives consent, is due unto them, and their keeping their money in their purse (tho' it endanger all the rest) is an advantageous thing. Hence all were divided, or unto some this course seem'd reasonable, unto others infirm and specious. Many therefore cheerfully lent; others, and those eminent Parliament-Men, refused, and had recourse to the Law for their defence, and being restrained, sued out their Habeas-corpuſſes, and

and yet were remanded back, which ministred occasion of great complaints in the next Parliament.

Within this time, as if fate had hurried us on unto somewhat, which was to be dismal; and our crafty neighbours, France and Holland, being both now in a warr with Spain, as well as England was; France, pretending a great designe of seizing the passages in the Valteline, to intercept the Spaniard's intercourse between Italy and Germany, (by which way the Emperor had still new forces from the Spaniard) propos'd unto the Hollander to joyn with them, in making up a good Fleet to invest and straiten Genoa, the place, which Spain made its great bank of money and credit. And tho' they knew, England in her disputing state was able to do little; yet craftily upon very moderate terms they invited her into this confederacy; so as the King of England, for countenance sake, was only to lend one ship of his own Royall Navy, and to furnish and equipp six Merchant Men, which afterwards should be wholly in the French pay. But the deep-sighted States-man, Cardinal Richelieu, made a clean other use of this assistance; for the French Protestants being at this time hardly dealt with, and many of

The French
deceive both
Holland and
England.

The warr in
France, be-
tween that
King and his
discontented
Hugonot-
subjects.

their concessions and priviledges anciently granted to them, in relation unto the exercise of their religion, according unto the Calvinistical Reformation, being denyed them, they too apt to be discontented, and too forward to set up themselves, as an independant body (in point of Religion at least) in that State, and the Duke of Rohan, a very learned and wise States-man, and a great Captain, with his brother Soubize, a Gentleman of great, tho' inferior, parts, being with others Heads of this Party, Soubize at this time flew out, and being backt by that strong town Rochel, having got a small Navall-force, he made havock not only of the isles of Rhe and Oleron, (strong and important places, and of great concern unto the French-Crown, and its revenue, as full of Salt-pitts; Salt being monopolized in that Kings hand, and one of the fairest flowers of that Crown's revenue) but likewise seized on severall of his own King's ships, lying in those parts in harbor: (a sufficient evidence, that the French Navy was not at that time very considerable.) It stood in need therefore of such a master-stroke, as this of the Cardinalls, who diverted (perchance that, which was never designed) the French, Holland, and English ships, given out for Genoa, and

and immediately employ'd them against Soubize ; so as this Fleet by sea, and the Duke of Guise by land , soon crush'd all Soubize's successes, and Rochell, the chiefest strength and asylum of the oppressed or discontented Hugonot, was blockt up.

Our King, impatient of the misemploying his shipping against those of the Religion in France, and we alledging, that the French King had admitted the English as a Guaranty for preserving the auncient Liberties of those of the Religion, and Buckingham himselfe being at that time highly disobliged by Richelieu, who had excepted to his coming over Ambassador, upon some jealousy in that Court of an amour of an high nature, wee ran into a new and precipitate warr; and so were engaged against the two great Monarchs, even at that time, when our own Monarchical Government seem'd to be in dispute at home.

How King Charles came to bee concerned in it.

This made it high time for the King to think of calling a new Parliament; and it was summon'd to meet on the 17 of March 1627, where Sir John Finch was chosen Speaker.

The third Parliament.

But here the House of Commons trod in their former steps, and where they left off, they seem'd to begin, and to make their proceedings the more solemn, (for

by this time the Nonconforming-Clergie were to be the trumpets of a dissatisfied Layety) the first thing they pray, is, that they might hold a Fast; and what spirit this would beget thro' the whole Nation, he, that then durst have conjur'd, would have bin thought to have bin of an ill spirit, unles others had liv'd to have felt the ill effects of it, in the long Parliament in 1640. For, as nothing is more probable to avert God's judgements, than true humiliation and piety; so nothing is more displeasing to God, or breeds worse tempers in men, than when they fast for strife, or in order to cry up a Party.

The expedi-
tion against
the Isle of
Rhe.

But, before wee enter upon their actions, wee shall give some account of his Majestie's great preparations and falling upon that great action of invading the Isle of Rhe, which the Duke of Buckingham, high Admirall, with ten ships Royall, and ninety Merchant-men, with a body of 6000 horse and foot set saile for, in the month of June: and tho' Rhe was not his first design, yet here he fixes, and having bin long expected in those parts, Monsieur Toyras, Governor of that Isle, an old and well-experienc'd Soldier, had in readines such a force, as probably would have made the English descent very hazardous

hazardous and dangerous. But the Duke, a Gentleman of a cleer courage, and his intrepid Soldiers (which epithet their unfortunate retrait, as well as glorious descent, made good) forced their way, and acted all things fuitable to the honour of their Nation.

And thus being landed, they drive Mr. Toyras and his men from the shoare up into the land into St. Martin's Castle, the chiefe strength of that Island. But here was a great error committed, and a wilfull, as it was said, on the Generalls part; for contrary to the advice of his Commanders, he took not in a lesser Castle upon the coast; which would have secur'd his own retrait, and the landing of any of his provisions, and hindered the French from bringing in fresh supplies, either of men or provision. Besides, the pursuit after Toyras was not made so quick, but that two or three daies being lost, that old Souldier made his fortifications much more difficult to be taken in; one would think, that these neglects ought to be attributed more to the old English Commanders, Sr. John Burroughs, Sr. William Courtney, and the rest, than unto the unexperient Generall, who surely, had they bin as resolute as they ought, he would not have been so obstinate

Ill conduct
in the management of
it.

stinate as he was, to prefer his own bent before their experience.

The policy
of Toyras,
the French
Governour.

But thus it was, and one error succeeds another; for Toyras, a crafty Fox, manages his part towards the Duke courtly, as well as soldierly, for after some time, that the English had prest him close, repelled his sally's, which were made and entertained with equall courage, and reduced him to great necessity, he craftily began a Treaty about surrender, and spun out some time with the opennes and deceits of Courtship; which pleasing the Duke's humor, lost him some advantages, but gain'd Toyras his point; for he stay'd but to see the success of an intended-relief to be sent him of some provisions and some men, which not long after, by some experienced Pilots, who well knew the depths, and shelves, and creeks of that shoare, was effected; and then the Duke found the burthen of his first omission in not taking in the lesser Fort, and the ruinous state he should leave Rochel in, from whence he had borrowed much of their provisions, and from which Garrison he was supply'd with at least 500 men, neither of which

The Duke of
Buckingham's forced
retrait.

he could repay; the Earl of Holland not coming with those supplies from England which were promised; so as the Duke

Duke finding a necessity of his retrait, made it with great courage, but with great losse, and as I have understood by men of good knowledge in that affaire, not without some ill conduct in his retrait, as well as in his first advances.

For being to retrait upon narrow cawses, by reason of the salt-pans and low-grounds, he brought off his men under the protection of horse, who had no room to fight, and who once routed, must necessarily rout their own foot, which happen'd accordingly, and made the slaughter great, which otherwise, probably would have been little, and so the retrait creditable, tho' not glorious.

How managed.

In this very action, three Persons, who lost much of their honour, were employ'd, who all liv'd to make prosperous his Majesties last condition, as they had made inglorious his first enterprize : for here in England the Earle of Holland trifled away the time, in which he should have brought new supplies of men, victualls, and shipping unto the Duke, and was found in harbor at Plymouth, when he should have bin found a month before in the bay at Rochel; and here his Brother Montjoy, afterward Earle of Newport, and the Lord Con-

Censure of several employed in this Expedition.

Conway, (then Sr. Edward) who with the horse were to make the retrait, (to say no more) fell under great suspicion. And what they did in the last actions of his Majesties life, the following sheets will shew ; and they will shew also, how improvident it is to make use of trifling men, tho' in good station, twice in one Prince's reign ; for tho' in the hazards of war ill success may attend the most loyal and experienced men, and their conduct of their extremity may make them the fitter to be re-employ'd ; yet where such an eminency is not, there a State is much wanting to it self, which a second time own's such persons. But Holland's being great on the Queen's side, it secur'd his Brother Montjoy's infirmities, (we may say, his after-infidelities,) and whether wee may give a softer word unto the Lord Conway's last engagement in the Scotch war, I will not determine : tho' I am sure, I am willing to do it, as having had some relation in blood, and some personal obligation unto his Father, whilst Secretary of State. But his re-admission was, by being a confident of the Earle of Northumberland's. So dangerous a thing it is to Princes, to have the least hand in the choise even of the subordinate Ministers in civil, military, or ecclesiastical affairs. But

But affaires being thus improsperous, it is no marvell, that a House of Commons, a popular Councill, or a House of Lords, most commonly invidious towards Favourites, lookt upon all these things (as well they might) with an ill eye, and rather sharpened their own spirits, than sweetn'd their Princes, by private condolences, and endeavors to withdraw him from making use, upon affection, of improper Instruments to his designs. Hence it was too too probable, that the House of Commons upon their first meeting cast their eye more upon their grievances, than the joyning their Councells towards the promoting the King's Forraign engagements; and so they complaine of billeting souldiers, of Loans by benevolences, and upon privy seals, and of imprisoning Refusers; and being demanded supplies upon the King's occasions, they say, that by the former proceedings with them, they were uncertain, whether they had any thing of their own to give. Thus easie it is thro' a multiplying-glass to make small things great, or by following a climax, to make the losse of the naile of the Generalls horse-shoe the loosing his horse, and consequently himself, and consequently the battel, and consequent-ly

Discontents
in Parlia-
ment.

ly the Nation; for their expressions were, *That now like the Roman slaves, this was the annuall day, wherein they had liberty to utter, what all the year before they had suffered.* But Rhetorick is no vulnerary herb. The King with a milder temper receives their complaints; and professes, that he had neither averſenes nor intention to keep himself at distance with them; and that he desired nothing more, but that their busines and his might go on hand in hand.

The Petition
of Right.

Upon which they brought in their Petition of Right, and they voted to have a bill brought in for five Subsidies, which the King gave hearty thanks for: the Petition was proceeded on, but not the Subsidies; and it was prefac'd in these words following.

We humbly present this Petition to your Majestie not onely with a care for preservation of our liberties, but with a due regard to leave entire that soveraign power, wherewith your Majestie is trusted for the protection, safety, and happines of your People. The King at first thought a generall answer might have satisfied, and so gave this following:

The King's
gracious an-
swer at first,
and after-
wards

That he will'd, that right be don according to the Laws and Custom of the Realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution,
that

that the subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just rights, and liberties: to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well oblig'd, as to the maintenance of his Prerogative. But this being not satisfactory, and debates growing upon it, the King to quiet all, told them, that he would give them an answer, that should fully please them; and so coming to the House of Lords, he causes the Clerk in his presence to read that most comprehensive answer, *Soit droit fait, comme il est desirè*. And after this, his Majestie assur'd them, that his Maxime was, that *the Peoples liberties serv'd to strengthen the Kings Prerogative, and the Kings prerogative to defend the Peoples Liberties*; and now, say's he, if this Parliament have not an happy conclusion, the sin is yours, and I am free from it. But notwithstanding all this, a noble Gentleman, an eminent Parliament man, who pay'd dear for it in 1640. being then a great Royalist, said, *let us perfect our Remonstrance*; for King James was wont to say, he knew that by Parliament, which otherwise he could never have known: and in the Remonstrance they had declared the Duke the foundation of all their grievances; and this following such a gracious

Fuller con-
descension.

ous concession, as his Majesty had made in his answer to the Petition of Right, and his Majesty likewise finding, that they were turning his own weapon upon his own breast, for they pretended, that his answer to their Petition of Right, (tho' there was not the least mention of it thro' the whole debate in either House,) had excluded him from the receipt of his Customes, which irritated him very much. Had they at the same time freely presented him with a Bill for the receipt thereof, because taken away, this might have express'd, that they meant no surprizall; but the other way of proceeding seem'd to him so disingenuous, that he would not brook it.

Discontents
rais'd and
fomented in
the House of
Commons a-
gainst the
Duke.

Nor indeed could they be brought to brook the Duke, whom they knew formerly had employ'd Sr. William Balfoure a Scotch Commander, and Colonell Dolbeir, a German, to raise in forreign parts 1000 horse for this King's service, and to transport them into England. This like the Israelites worshipping the golden Calf, may too probably have bin an ingredient in all future distrusts.

The Navy a-
gain equip-
ped to re-
lieve Rochell.

However, the Duke upon his return from Rhe, proceeds in equipping out a new considerable Navy, with considerable land-forces to relieve Rochel; which
that

that Universal man Richelieu, (for he was Clergy-man, States-man, Souldier, and what not, in perfection?) had then invested with strong land-forces.

By this time he was drawn down in person into those parts, and like Nebuchadnezzar, or Alexander the great against Tyre, had resolved to attempt, what to others seem'd impossible, *viz.* to make such a wall or dyke crosse the arme of the sea, which came up to Rochell, as might hinder the English navy's entrance; and wanting neither great Engineers, nor multitude of hands, nor ready experienc'd workmen, nor plenty of money; he effected that by his presence, which without it would never have bin done.

Then besieged.

But here wee must stopp the thred of our discourse, and relate what influence the Parliaments intended Remonstrance had on the spirit of a discontented and hypochondriack Lieutenant, (who mis'd of being a Captain, as he thought, in his turn) who shortly after assassinated the Duke at Portsmouth, whilst he was in the heat and highth of his preparation for Rochell, and when he was even ready to sett sail from thence; where this malevolent saturnical man, named Felton, with a broad knife in a narrow passage,

The Duke killed at Portsmouth by Felton.

D

gave

gave him that mortal wound, which cutt the vena cava ; so as he was immediately choak'd with his own blood, and he stabb'd him over the shoulder of a Gentleman, who was humbly stooping to salute the Duke, and the Duke was bending his owne body in return of the others observance, and the crowd was so great, that had not the person's owne guilt, after some time and at some distance, discovered himself, he might probably have escap'd ; and there being many French nigh the Duke's person, the noise at first ran against them to their great danger ; but the Assassin being soon after taken, confest the fact, and profest, that he was led thereunto by the ill characters, which the Parliaments Declaration had put upon that great man.

The King's
resentment of
this villani-
ous assassina-
tion.

The news came soon to Court, and the King understood it, whilst he was at his morning publick devotion, and there he gave an evidence of his compos'd mind ; for he exprest no passion, till the service was ended, and then he retired, and was very sensible of it. The Court was nigh Portsmouth, so as messenger came after messenger : and I heard divers of them relate the various circumstances of this foule fact ; and those, that came latest, agreed in this, that so distracted were the thoughts of most men there,

there, that they, that a lirtle before crowded to be of his remotest followers, so soon forsook his dead corps, that he was laid upon the hall-table, nigh to which he fell; and scarce any of his Domesticks left to attend him. Thus upon the withdrawing of the sun does the shadow depart from the painted dyall.

The deep sighted great Cardinal stood firm all this while at the mark, and shewed, it was not enough to be wise in projecting, but to be industrious in effecting what was design'd; so as when the Earle of Lindsey (who was commissioned to command that Navy and forces, which the Duke had in readines to set sail with) came to the place, he found the digue so advanced, that tho' he made some noble attempts, yet the passage was so barricadoed, that he was forc'd to return home, and leave poor Rochell, who had endured the greatest extremities, as a trophy unto this great man's wisdom and good fortune: and the Garrison marched forth tyred and famish'd, rather as Ghosts, than living men. And from this epoche or point of time, France may reckon her entire, tho' encreasing, greatness; all other European Princes having since declin'd and wain'd. For tho' a long time after, this part of the world, prepossest

The seeds of
France's
greatness
layd

In the sur-
render of Ro-
chell, and

with that opinion, seem'd to apprehend the aspiring greatnes of Spain; yet that Monarchy hath from Philip the second declin'd, and really seems now to be very insignificant in the world, but as she is the Mistris of the Indian mines; and of late years her forces have bin so feeble, and so improsperous, that both at home, in Portugal, and Catalonia, and her severall territories in Italy, and in our neighbouring countries in Flanders, she hath not of late done any considerable action; but seems like a goodly tree, that is still standing, but hath lost its vegetative virtue; so as when it comes to be cutt out into timber, 'tis brittle and of no toughness against shott, whilst France hath every year eaten into it by its own united power, and turned both their metals against themselves, conquering them as well by the Spanish gold, as iron; as Portugal, Catalonia, Flanders, and Sicily sufficiently evidence.

By the increase of their shipping.

And from this juncture France affected, and hath to wonder brought about the making her self Mistris of the most considerable Navy at this time in Christendom, and ere long will of Mariners too, especially had they held Sicily, as they do now a good part of Flanders. And however at first we and others despised her
Sea-

Seamen, and thought, that she would never be able to man or manage those ships, she had built; yet the last summer shew'd, she was able to defend all her ports against the power of Holland, and this summer with her own shipping and Captains, (for common-stranger-Mariners will be on board every Navy, where the pay is good) she hath bin able to beat both the Spanish Navy, and that considerable squadron of Holland ships, which (under the best Sea-Captain perchance in the world, who was slaine in the service, De Ruyter) was sent to assist them in Sicily.

But this, tho' it may seem too great a digression, is yet necessary to be made; because if I be not melancholily disposed, I think France took her greatnes (and under the covert thereof hath plaid her pranks) from the disputes and ill intelligences, that have bin ever since, betwixt this King, nay, (as shall be observed hereafter) betwixt the Usurper Cromwell and Parliaments, and would I could end it there. For as this great man made England and Holland in this great action against Rochel contributory unto her greatnes, and consequently to their own diminution; so she was made thereby so powerful at home, that she ma-

The methods
of the French
politicks and

the success
of them.

ster'd so entirely her own people, and rendered her Government so arbitrary and despotical, that she was soon at leisure to cut out work for Spain in Flanders, Catalonia, and Italy; and for Germany, (a little while after) by bringing in the King of Sweden, and feeding and assisting the lesser Princes there, especially Prince Bernard Weymar of Saxe; inso-much as tho' that conquering King Gustavus was slain, (whose humor would not long have agreed with the French's aspiring greatnes) yet she so ordered that affair, that she clipt the wings of the Austrian greatnes in Germany, and fixed her selfe almost entirely in that great province of Alsace, and made Sweden as considerable thro' his great conquest in Pomeran. And tho' she long flattered and carest the state of Holland, and by men and money assisted them to employ their great and experienc'd Captain and wise Statesman, Henry Prince of Orange, in taking many considerable towns in Flanders; yet she made their victories and armes to be put into the scale of her own ascending greatnes.

Treaty at
Munster.

But the Empire had never had their peace, untill France had bin Emperor, had not that unfortunate, but good, Statesman, De Witt, foreseen the danger, and brought

brought over that State, and their then almost superannuated great Generall, the Prince of Orange, (to which worke, not here to mention other persons and things, the Spanish gold contributed) to be resolute at Munster to agree a peace for themselves apart, if France refus'd to be involv'd in it, which France little expected. For she thought, that she had it in her power to conclude or break this Treaty, as she pleased: but thus necessitated unto this, and having learnt her old Friends, the grand Signior's policy, to secure conquests by short peaces, and soon after enlarge them by sharp warrs, she ere long accepted another Treaty at Font-Araby, in order unto a marriage between the Infanta of Spain, and the young King of France. Where, how courly our then exiled King was used by the French, all know; and how solemnly this peace was sworne, and how fully exclusive of the French King's pretensions to any part of Flanders, by reason of any title to be derived from the Infanta, is likewise notorious: yet when the time of peace had fitted them for a new warr, how surprisngly, and how contrary to solemn asseverations, France entred Flanders, and made so considerable and speedy conquests, that it

Font-Araby :

and

Aix la Chapelle.

gave jealousie to all their neighbours, is also well known: and how dexterously she then made propositions to terminate her conquests there; and there being no force in readines to give her other check to this hasty prosperity, England, Sweden, and Holland, (which was call'd the Triple-League) becoming guarrantie unto the Spaniard, a peace at Aix la Chapelle was concluded: and how before and after this they dealt with us of England (for to do them right, they appear the great statesmen and souldiers of this age; for their great difficulty was master'd, when those of the Religion were in their own country master'd) may now be worthy to touch on.

Digression, about England's unlucky alliance with France, since

the warr between England and Holland.

When the providence of God had restor'd our King, and he had forgot and forgiven all their ill usage in his time of distresse, and even when we had married a Sister to the Brother of France, France unprovok'd became a guarrantie unto the Holland-fishing, and invisibly promoted all misunderstandings betwixt us and them; and when wee were actually and rashly engaged in a warr, they being neuters, so own'd all the Dutch prizes wee took, that their neutrality did us more harm, than the others enmity; and then when wee two had sufficiently
bruised

bruised each other, they became instruments of a peace, and believing the coar of that war would rankle in our minds, and they perceiving Holland to be very active with Forraigne-States, to the bounding their greatnes, (or in their own phraſe, *of eclipsing their glory*) they reſolv'd a downright warr with them, (and ſatisfying us, that we might do it without violation of the Triple-League, which was only to ſecure the remaining part of Flanders unto Spain) they drew us in into a ſhare of that warr, and they articulated to aſſiſt us with ſuch a diſtinct number of French-royall-men of warr, under their own Admirall, as made the Hollanders neceſſitated to ſett forth the greater Fleet, to fight ſingly with the Engliſh ſhips, for the French were rather ſpectators, than aſſiſtants.

At land to the wonder of the world, conſidering that countries ſtrong towns, forts, rivers, and garrifons, they came before a place and took it. This befell the Dutch by reaſon of De Witt's vindicative ſpirit towards the houſe of Orange; for he had changed the veteran army there into freſh-watered ſouldiers, the commanders being principally either ſons or nephews of the chief Magiſtrates of the Provinces, and the ſouldiers, the meaner Burgers
or

French con-
queſts at
land.

or native peasants of the country : which (by all I can find) was the single, but the great, foibles of that great man. Thus the French had almost conquer'd that whole country in one year. From this unlucky association wee withdrew our selves , and wee had reason , when wee perceived , that France had dealt with us at land as bad, as at sea ; but timely the Emperor, nay the Empire and the Spaniard , joyn'd with the Hollanders, which France was so apprehensive of, that she was forc'd , in her own phrase, *demordre*, or to loosen her hold, and totally to quit the country of Holland ; yet these various accidents of fortune, (for there is a great difference betwixt a single opulent power, and an united aggregate body, consisting of many heads, and a necessitous power) she became at last so victorious, that tho' we were at Nimiguen umpires or arbitrators in the peace, yet she at last singly gave the law to the Emperor, the Empire, the severall greater and lesser Princes of it, and unto the Spaniard , and Hollander , and she admitted no articles, but what she herself propos'd to each of them ; so as, tho' others had the charge and toyle, she onely had the honor, glory, and advantage of the conclusion of this warr. And
now

now like an high-flow'n eagle, she is soaring, but at what prey, she will next stoop, (so secret are her councils) God and her own breast onely know. But since her wings are fixed to her body by waxen, worldly, and secular policies, He that bounds the sea, and removes in his mercy his judgments, may melt her wax, and weaken her strength, and make her appear his rod, which he will lay aside, if not burn, when his work is done. For it is He only, that thro' all ages has changed the times and seasons, and sett periods to the prosperity of the greatest Empires. How to excuse mingling these so remote actions one from the other, and that in several Princes reigns, I know not, but by saying, I had not courage to interrupt my thoughts.

'Tis high time now to revert to our story, if such an immethodical discourse as this is, and is like to be, may be call'd so. But the Duke of Buckingham being now dead, it might have bin hoped, the next session of Parliament would have buried in his grave those jealousies, which so much prejudiced his Majestie's honor abroad, and their own good condition at home; but heaven had not such a blessing for us. The complaints about
Ton-

The proceedings of the two Houses with the King after the Duke of Buckingham's death, in the third Parliament.

Tonnage and Poundage are freshly renewed, so as his Majestie conjectur'd, (they now offering him no Bill for the same) that they aim'd more at mastery, or change of government, than accommodation; for he saw, if he received it for a short time, how derogatory it would be to him; and if he left off receiving it, before it was given, (which none of his Predecessors had done, or indeed could well do, and yet there were sometime great intervals betwixt their coming to the Crown and the next Parliament) how much it must diminish his treasure, and how much confound trade, was visible, the nature of this duty requiring an uninterrupted collection. Plaine it is, this bred a very inward dislike in him towards Parliaments, and resolving to dissolve this, and sending down the usuall summons to them to attend him in the Lords-House, they prepossess of what was intended, as they had formerly in a late Parliament kept a Speaker from returning to his chair, so they now forcibly detain this Speaker in his chair; untill they had voted, (as if there had bin such a designe) that *whoever endeavored to introduce Popery, Arminianism, or any innovation in Religion, should be accounted a capital enemy; as likewise,*
who-

This Parliament dissolved.

whoever received the duties of Tonnage and Poundage, if not given by the Parliament; and whoever paid them, (which was as much as to perswade merchants, either to abandon all trade, or by force free themselves from payment: and then the defence of the seas must be abandon'd, and many more ill consequences arise out of it) should be reputed a betrayer of the subject's liberty. But sure it was, this hot-spirited vote was like to be an overthrow of the subject's peace. On these ill conditions this third Parliament ended.

Intending to divide this King's reign into several periods of time, because it had severall complexions of affairs in those times; wee will make from the beginning of his Majesties reign to the dissolution of this third Parliament, the first Period. The second shall be from hence unto the two Parliaments in the year 1640, which we may call (untill the Scotch disturbances and at last rebellions) the peaceable and flourishing part of his Majesty reign. And the third shall be the unsatiable and unlimited desire of change of Government in that long Parliament, which between the year 1640 and 1642 had brought all into a
civill

The method
of these Me-
moirs.

March 27.
1625.

March 10,
1628.

April & No-
vemb. 1640.

civill warr: and the last shall be from 1642 unto 1648, when the worst of men, by a rage that reach'd to heaven, murther'd the best of Princes. Of whom I cannot say, that he had the rigid policies, that are necessary for a good Prince towards contumacious and innovating spirits: (for the spirit of government may require of a good Prince the departing from his own good nature) but I will say, that to good and loyall minds he was fitted to have bin as happy an instrument to make Subjects enjoy wealth, peace, and godlines, as any King, that ever reign'd in this Land. For in his own Person, he was as great an example of virtue; and from the year 1628, unto the year 1638, I believe England was never Master of a profounder peace, nor enjoy'd more wealth, or had the power and form of godlines more visibly in it: which will appear, when wee shall make a conclusion to these Memoires, or Remarks on those times, *viz.* from 1648, to 1660, when Parliaments themselves were as leudly treated, as they before had treated their Sovereign, and when Christ our Lord, the King of kings, by heresies and schismes seem'd in this land to be crucified afresh.

The ill consequences of the disputes berwixt King & Parliament.

'Twas a clear prophecy of a downfall unto this land, when a King and his two Houses

Houses of Parliament thus dissatisfactorily and often part from one another. For what could be expected but generally uncompliances, and consequently dissatisfactions? For the Parliament having omitted this proper season of accommodation after the Duke's death, and running all things to extremity; this necessitated the King to have recourse unto such waies of raising supplies, as upon great exigences were formerly precedent-ed by his Predecessors, tho' long disused, and to revive old and obsolete Laws, that so he might get that as a right and duty, which he could not obtain from a free will and by a bounty; and to consider how to maintain his just and legal prerogatives.

And now the chiefe Minister of State being Sr. Richard Weston, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, but newly made Lord Weston, and Lord high Treasurer of England, and afterwards Earle of Portland, (a Gentleman of serious thoughts, and good parts, and verst in the chiefe employments at home and abroad) these titles and preferments soon brought him into envy, which ever dogs new rais'd greatness. He, like a wise man, endeavoured to draw to his assistance such men, as were known and reputed to be wise men.

Sr. Richard
Weston,
chiefe Minister.

Sir John Savile.

Sir Thomas Wentworth.

Mr. Noy.

men, and well affected to Parliaments, which was his Master's design, as well as his. And accordingly old Sr. John Savile of the North was called to Court, and made Comptroller of the King's Household, and privy Counsellor: and Sr. Thomas Wentworth, his neighbour, was not long after made Lord Wentworth, and Lord President of the North: and Mr. Noy, the generally esteem'd Lawyer, and great Antiquary, was made Attorney Generall.

All these Instruments of his Majesties Government, having bin great assertors of the Subjects liberty, but probably now, having discern'd the immoderate design of some popular leading persons to wound the Kingly Government, and wearied with Parliamentary disputes, (about not repairs, but foundations of Government) were willing to be evidences, that tho' the King resolv'd to maintain regall and soveraigne authority, vested in him by law; yet that he intended no absolute or arbitrary power, separate from the Laws in being. And untill such a temper be found out, this Nation will be ever in hazard.

Unto one of them therefore, *viz.* the Lord Wentworth, is assign'd the proposall of raising money upon the hitherto
long

long omitted aide due at his Majesties coronation for Knight-hood, which in Edward the second's time was payable by every man, that had 15 *l.* per annum : but then for the ease of the meaner sort of Subjects, by statute was carried unto 20 *l.* per annum, which was evidence enough of its antiquity and legality : but at this time none were charged, that had less than 40 *l.* per annum : and by this Commission thro' the Kingdom, was supposed to be raised 100000 *l.* This most men look't upon as illegall, because it seem'd antiquated ; not considering, that former Parliaments had laid it asleep by the free supplies from time to time towards the Crown's necessities ; which tho' more visible now than ever, this last Parliament would take no notice of ; and therefore towards supplies for his own subsistence, the King seem'd resolv'd to make use of any authority, which his Regality by any custom or law had formerly exercised. And under pretense of this kind crept in divers monopolies and projects probably less warrantable.

The means the King tooke to supply his publick occasions.

Knighthood-mony.

In ann. 304

But the subtil French and incroaching Hollander upon these distractions, the one having his eye upon Flanders, and the other his design to undermine us in our trade, and to challenge a freedom in

The occasion of Ship-money.

our seas of fishing, (which occasion'd the writing of that learned book, *Mare clausum*, by Mr. Selden) and the Argier Pirats infesting our Seas, even in our own Channel, and both these great States by our necessities projecting against the safety of the whole Nation, deep sighted Noy considering, what authority every sovereign Power had independant of any others consent, generally to charge the subject for the defense of the whole, and well understanding, that our Government even by its laws and usages of former Princes, had such a pretense, his proposals dived to the bottom, and sunk to the foundation of Government; and so he induced his Majesty to enclose a case in a letter unto the whole body of his Judges, *viz. That when the good and safety of the Kingdom in generall is concern'd, and the whole Kingdom in danger, whether may not the King, by writ under the great seale of England, command all his subjects in his Kingdom at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships with men, victuals, and munition, and for such a time, as he shall think fitt for the defense and safeguard of the Kingdom, from such danger and perill, and by law compell the doing thereof, in case of refusall or refractorines? And, whether in such a case, is not the King*

The Case stated.

King the sole Judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided? The Judges, to whom this case was referr'd, were

John Bramston.	George Crooke.
John Finch.	Thomas Trevor.
Humphry Davenport.	George Vernon.
John Denham.	Robert Berkley
Richard Huton.	Francis Crawley.
William Jones.	Richard Weston.

All men as learned (without it were Trevor, a very honest Gentleman) and as upright, as ever fill'd their Benches. These all distinctly, to every particular head of the case, answered affirmatively; and nothing could have led them hereunto, but their books.

And now his Majesty thus authoriz'd in the year 1636 issueth out his Writts for ship-money, the first year to provide so many ships of so many Tunn unto the Maritime Counties only; but the next year the danger being more visible, the Writts were directed unto all the Counties, and yet the summe amounted not to above 236000*l.* or thereabouts, which was not ly 20000 a month thro' the whole Kingdom; which fell very short of what the future charges amounted unto in main-

Writts issu'd
out for ship-
monee.

taining a rebellion against his Majesty upon pretence of these grievances. This great Lawyer could distinguish betwixt what was given the Crown for support of its own grandeur, or splendor, or towards the enlargement of the territories of a King by conquest, or for the support of the Allies of the Crown, or for the necessities of the Crown, or as a free-will offering of the Subject, and betwixt what the Crown could demand from the Subject by its own prerogative in time of visible and eminent danger: for undeniable it was, tho' the ordinary Guards of the sea were provided for by the Bills of Tonnage and Poundage, and tho' it was an undoubted right of the Subject, that no toll or tallage should be levied from the Subject, but by consent in Parliament: yet when these rights were best known and observed, as an undoubted prerogative of the Crown, thro' many ages, Writts issued, and charged sometimes the maritime Ports and Counties, with such a number of ships, as was found necessary for defense of our seas; and when the danger reacht to all the land, the charge was laid upon the inland, as well as maritime Counties. For what threatned all was to be supported by all: and at this time the necessity and danger was very apparent, if
either

either France was reflected on, in her use of her then considerably encreas'd Navy, or in her hasty building of considerable men of warr, or in the assistance Holland gave them in building for them, or in the Hollanders own attempts in fishing on our coasts, or in both their attempts upon the sea-towns in Flanders, or in the then actually infesting our very Channell by the Mediterranean Pyrats; all which were ingredients in the answer the learned Judges gave unto the King's case sent to them.

Upon these weighty grounds was begun or revived this pretense of an ancient right. And it is very observable, that as the King began it with all this caution and formall proceedings : so when the Subject contested it, he gave him as uninterrupted and free course and tryall of law, as ever was betwixt man and man, by having a fair and formall judgment given in his behalf; so he also employed it as sincerely, not mingling the mony, or proceed from it, with that in his own Exchequer, but keeping them apart, and their accounts, and yet adding considerably of his own treasure to it.

However, this may be said the King failed in, that he continued it successively for some years together, and in Parliament

E 3

satisfied

The good effect of Ship-money not represented in the last Parliament, as it ought to have been done.

sied not his people, how prudently and fortunately he had expended it, how it reduced both Dutch and French to modesty; how it had asserted his right against their fishing, freed our Channell from the Pyrats, secur'd the Ports on Flanders side; and brought from Spain and other parts a great enlargement of trade, and advancement to our Mint, and every where an honor to the Nation. Which representation would have had influence most probably upon his two Houses, if it had been done, before the King fell into necessity and extremity. And on the Subjects part it could not be thought, but they would be very tender to have such a prerogative reviv'd, which so long had been disused; since a breach in this kind soon widens and tempts unto an assault. The nature of the affaire would have born so many dangerous inferences, that it truly needed a right understanding and friendly accommodation, and a readiness in the Subject to have made a future provision for such contingencies; which method might have dispos'd a Prince of this good temper (who had made this good use of what was rais'd) to have received a moderate satisfaction. To bring things to an extremity is an evidence, that mastery, not liberty, is aim'd at. When
such

such relatives, as King and Representatives of his people, grow jealous of each other, besides the disorders and disaffections it brings at home, great are the dishonors of it to the Prince, and the losses and dangers to the Subject from abroad. In all which concerns most commonly passion blinds both sides.

However from hence it was, that his Majesty cast his thoughts not onely upon supplying himself with treasure in order to the securing the Government and seas from forreign enemies, but how to vindicate his Regall authority at home, by calling to account soon after the dissolution of the last Parliament those Gentlemen, that had done violence in the House of Commons unto that Chaire. And as men most active in that unruly work, he question'd Mr. Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Sir Henry Hammond, Sir John Hubbert, Mr. Selden, Corriton, and others; all faulty of some unbecoming words or actions. They would have defended themselves by their pretending priviledge of not answering elsewhere, for what they did in that House: but by his Majesty in Councill they are committed unto severall Prisons, and they sue out their Habeas Corpus's: they offered to give bayle, but not security for

The wayes the King took to vindicate the Regal rights of his prerogative.

Severall Parliament men questioned for their misbehavior in the House.

Their tryall
in the King's
Bench.

their good behaviour; and in the King's Bench, they plead likewise, that what they had done, was done in Parliament, and therefore there onely accountable. The Judges assert the jurisdiction of their Court, to hear the cause, replying, that *some offences, committed in Parliament, were punishable out of Parliament; for tho' it was true, that that which was done by all the House, and which only concern'd the House, was not questionable in any inferior Court; yet particular mens offences and exorbitances were in such cases, as this, a violation of the Chair, very questionable; and they add, that the Courts demand of surety was an act of jurisdiction, not law, being in prevention of danger to be done to the Common-wealth.* And thus being overrul'd in their plea, they were sentenc'd upon a *Nihil dicit*, and to be imprison'd, during his Majesties pleasure: and they were severally fin'd: upon payment of which fine they were to be released from their imprisonment.

Council-Table

The men of this spirit generally thro' the Kingdom made the Government more uneasy unto the King and his Ministers; so as the authority of the Council-Table, whose jurisdiction reaches not unto private matters betwixt man and man, (where remedy is procurable by law) but
naturally

naturally extends unto matters, which relate unto the honor and peace of the State, is now exercis'd with some vigilance and vigor. And that most wholesome Court of Starr-Chamber, erected by K. Henry VII, to meet with a middle sort of acts, which the Common-Law-Courts reach'd not unto, because the particular cases were too various to fall under a generall law, where the Judges were not entrusted with any arbitrary power, and yet was necessary for the Government to prevent, was now watchfull over those humors.

Starr-Chamber.

The nature of which Court, and its usefullnes, is very lively sett down by that great Chancellor, the Lord Bacon, who wrote the life of that wise King, who erected it.

As the nature of this Court of Starr-Chamber was to prevent immoderate might and power in great men, and disorders of multitudes in populacy: so (after the Crown had taken upon it the supremacy in cases Ecclesiasticall, and purg'd the English Church from the errors and superstitions of the Romish, and yet was infected, upon the return of the exiled Ministers after Q. Maries death, principally with a Presbyterian Calvinistical humor, as likewise in some other persons

High-Com-
mission.

persons with a Phanaticall) to secure the Government against Innovators in all these kinds, and to curb their designs, the wise Q. Elisabeth erected a Court, called the High-Commission, for causes Ecclesiasticall, which fell not under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Bishops: and the Judges thereof were the Arch-Bishops and some Bishops, and some Lords of the Councill, and some Doctors of the Civill Law.

The nature
and jurisdic-
tion of this
Court.

The jurisdiction of this Court was to obviate the designs of all those Dissenters, unto whom the Law gave the generall name of *Recusants*; and the Crown had great reason to prevent the designs of all those sorts of men; each Faction having some aime to wound the Legall power: the Popish party in recovering the Papall authority; the Presbyterian, zealously affecting the same pretense, was setting up the Kirke above the Crown; and the Phanatick, calling the delusions of the brain the inspirations of the Almighty, they valued no civil authority. These so diversified truth, that if every one of them, being distant one from the other, were in the truth, then was there no unity in truth, nor could there be any bands of peace; which must necessarily dissolve all bands
of

of government. For wherever a people suppose themselves made free by God, or not obliged by God to obey their Princes in all civill commands, which are matters alwayes of an indifferent nature, or matters neither morally good nor bad in themselves, but as commanded by authority, there all rule of soveraignty and subjection is overthrown.

The steddines of Q. Elisabeth's government, and at last, her resolvednes not to be overborne by any Faction, either grown, or growing up, made these humors in her time rather troublesom than dangerous; for like a wise Artist of State, she knew it was easier to crop them in the bud, than pull them up by the root: yet her care could not prevent their instilling themselves into the veins of the Corporations, where the aversation unto the Romish religion was much more laudable, than their knowledge of the true orthodoxy of the Christian religion, or of the Reformation of their own Church thereunto. But as every ill humor first fixes upon some weak part, and from thence not timely disperst, falls upon some nobler; so in the peaceable and more remisse government of King James, some well dispos'd, as well as some factious, Gentry and Nobility

How Q. Elisabeth, K. James, and K. Charles I. proceeded with opposers of Regall authority.

Nobility suck'd it into their veins ; who when they perceived, that a Clergy thus principled and principling the multitude, conduc'd much unto that Aristocraticall government, which they affected, or unto the sharing of the soveraignty between the King and the two Houses of Parliament, (which , as this constitution of Government is, is impossible) they imbibed this ill humor so fast , that at first it bred in them a contumacy unto Kingly Prerogative ; and the Councill-Table, and the Starr-Chamber, and the High-Commission-Court , (which were all but channells to convey beneficially unto the Subject that Royall authority, which the essentiall constitution of every Government places in the unity of the soveraignty ; let that soveraignty be placed either in one, or more) became unsufferable to them ; but the jurisdiction of these and such like Courts is purely in order unto the security of the subjects in generall, and of that Government, which for their sakes is to be kept inviolate : which the men of this age not discerning , they at last resolve to obtaine the same, tho' it were by a civill warr ; and it rose to this height, betwixt the last Parliament in King James's time and that in the year 1640 in this King's reign.

reign. For if neither the Prince personally, nor by some Court of Justice authoritatively, meet not with (as my Lord Bacon phrases it) those inchoations or beginnings; which lead into sedition, violence, and undermining the Government both in Church and State, it is too too probable, that the diseases will be too strong for the remedies applied so late; and therefore it is no marvell unto men thus affected unto a change, that that should appear grievous, which in truth was most highly beneficial, if prudently and conscientiously made use of.

The necessity of Prerogative.

It may be thought incredible, that such instances should be given, or made grounds of complaint against these Courts even in Parliament; as I my selfe then heard, in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's for dispersing libells, and in behalfe of Sir Robert Howard, of the family of Suffolk, for living scandalously with the Lady Purbeck; and in behalfe of Sir William Waller, who bastinado'd Sir Thomas Reynolds: which last case I cannot say positively was brought in as a complaint, but was often hinted, as an excess of jurisdiction. But I shall mention them all in the next period of time, and they will all serve
to

to vindicate these several Judicatures, and to prove, that there was more cause to complaine of the head-strong and hard-mouth'd horse, than of the strait rein or the firm hand of the rider.

The good
estate of
England at
this time.

Thus his Majestie's task was more to curb the innovating humor of an ambitious sort of men, who made way for their own greatnes, by making Parliamentary authority rivall Regall, than to satisfie the Subject in generall; for in Q. Elisabeth's, K. James's, and this King's reign, (set aside the disputes betwixt him and them about Parliamentary jurisdiction) no nation in the world at home enjoy'd more peace and plenty; and in this King's reign the Court was most regular and splendid: in city and country every man sat quiet under his own vine, and the fountains of justice, that decided *meum* and *tuum*, were clear and current; for the Judges were learned and upright men, and the Lawyers of great eminency. The publick charges very light, if men would but have reflected, that there is a necessity of a publick charge, or compared themselves with their neighbours. For the politick like the naturall body, is not in its good state and health by every single member's plenty, but by that portion of it, which is
con-

contributed to the habit of the whole body; which unto those that know this distinction, it is known, that these two states, even in the natural body, are different things; the one feeding the other, and the other raising a spirit to sustain its benefactor.

At this time men of good estates paid about 20 shillings, and the best estates in England then paying not above upon that account. And they that made this so grievous, soon after thought it not amiss, because it was to maintaine their own sedition, to lay ten times more upon every subject, than he paid before. Trade ran so high, that the credit of the English Merchants thro' every Burse or Exchange in Christendom exceeded any nations in Christendom, and our Manufactures here increased dayly; and I think I may truly say, that there were few good coblers in London, but had a silver beaker; so rife were silver-veffells among all conditions. The learning of the Divines, and their grave and sober conversation (notwithstanding the malicious inquisition, that was made into their lives, which by finding out a very few ill men, would have scandalized many good) was very eminent, and the purity and orthodoxy of their doctrines
needs

needs no other proof, than their books and works, which were then and have bin since set forth. Nor were the Universities ever cleaner in their fountaine or statutes, or better purged in their stream or conformity to them.

The Character of King Charles I.

His temperance.

All this at a time, when all the rest of the world was embroiled in warr, and heavy laden under taxes; and wee in our manufactures, shipping, and trading reaping the advantages of their ill condition. And it could scarce be otherwise, when wee shall give the true character of this highly good, but most unfortunate, Prince. He was a person, tho' born sickly, yet who came thro' temperance and exercise, to have as firm and strong a body, as most persons I ever knew, and throughout all the fatigues of the warr, or during his imprisonment, never sick. His appetite was to plain meats, and tho' he took a good quantity thereof, yet it was suitable to an easy digestion. He seldom eat of above three dishes at most, nor drank above thrice: a glasse of small beer, another of claret wine, and the last of water; he eat suppers as well as dinners heartily; but betwixt meales, he never medled with any thing. Fruit he would eat plentifully; and with this regularity, he moved

as steddily, as a star follows its course.

His deportment was very majestick; for he would not let fall his dignity, no not to the greatest Forraigners, that came to visit him and his Court; for tho' he was farr from pride, yet he was carefull of majestie, and would be approacht with respect and reverence. His conversation was free, and the subject matter of it (on his own side of the Court) was most commonly rational; or if facetious, not light. With any Artist or good Mechanick, Traveller, or Scholar he would discourse freely; and as he was commonly improved by them, so he often gave light to them in their own art or knowledge. For there were few Gentlemen in the world, that knew more of useful or necessary learning, than this Prince did: and yet his proportion of books was but small, having like Francis the first of France, learnt more by the ear, than by study. His way of arguing was very civil and patient; for he seldom contradicted another by his authority, but by his reason: nor did he by any petulant dislike quash another's arguments; and he offered his exception by this civill introduction, *By your favour, Sir, I think otherwise on this or that ground:* yet he would discounte-

His deportment and behaviour.

His accomplishments.

nance any bold or forward addresse unto him. And in suits or discourse of busines he would give way to none abruptly to enter into them, but lookt, that the greatest Persons should in affairs of this nature addresse to him by his proper Ministers, or by some solemn desire of speaking to him in their own persons.

His exercises.

His exercises were manly; for he rid the great horse very well; and on the little saddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter or field-man: and they were wont to say of him, that he fail'd not to do any of his exercises artificially, but not very gracefully; like some well-proportion'd faces, which yet want a pleasant air of countenance. He had a great plainnes in his own nature, and yet he was thought even by his Friends to love too much a versatile man; but his experience had thorowly weaned him from this at last.

He kept up the dignity of his Court, limiting persons to places suitable to their qualities, unless he particularly call'd for them. Besides the women, who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce admitted any great Officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the first, that I knew in that kind, who having a good dyet as Comptroller

ptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winkt at; so as the Court was fill'd, not cramm'd. His exercises of Religion were most exemplary; for every morning early, and evening not very late, singly and alone, in his own bed-chamber or closet he spent some time in private meditation: (for he durst reflect and be alone) and thro' the whole week, even when he went a hunting, he never failed, before he sat down to dinner, to have part of the Liturgy read unto him and his menial servants, came he never so hungry, or so late in: and on Sundays and Tuesdays he came (commonly at the beginning of Service) to the Chappell, well attended by his Court-Lords, and chief Attendants, and most usually waited on by many of the Nobility in town, who found those observances acceptably entertain'd by him. His greatest enemies can deny none of this; and a man of this moderation of mind could have no hungry appetite to prey upon his subjects, tho' he had a greatnes of mind not to live precariously by them. But when he fell into the sharpnes of his afflictions, (than which few men underwent sharper) I dare say, I know it, (I am sure conscientiously I say it) tho' God dealt with

His exercises
of Religion.

him, as he did with St. Paul, not remove the thorn, yet he made his grace sufficient to take away the pungency of it: for he made as sanctified an use of his afflictions, as most men ever did.

His firmness
in the Religion
professed and
established in
the Church of
England.

No Gentleman in his three nations, tho' there were many more learned, (for I have supposed him but competently learned, tho' eminently rational) better understood the foundations of his own Church, and the grounds of the Reformation, than he did: which made the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen, Signior Con, to say (both of him and Archbishop Laud, when the King had forced the Archbishop to admit a visit from, and a conference with the Nuncio) *That when he came first to Court, he hoped to have made great impressions there; but after he had conferr'd with Prince and Prelate, (who never denyed him any thing frowardly or ignorantly, but admitted all, which primitive and uncorrupted Rome for the first 500 years had exercised,) he declared he found, That they resolved to deal with his Master, the Pope, as wrestlers do with one another, take him up to fling him down.* And therefore tho' I cannot say, I know, that he wrote his *Icon Basilike, or Image*, which goes under his own name; yet I can say, I have heard him, even unto my

His book
entitled,
Εἰκὼν Βασιλ.
Λαοῦ.

my unworthy selfe, say many of those things it contains: and I have bin as- sur'd by Mr. Levett, (one of the Pages of his Bedchamber, and who was with him thro' all his imprisonments) that he hath not only seen the Manuscript of that book among his Majestie's papers at the Isle of Wight, but read many of the chapters himselfe: and Mr. Herbert, who by the appointment of Parliament attended him, says, he saw the Manuscript in the King's hand, as he believed; but it was in a running character, and not that which the King usually wrote. And whoever reads his private and cursory letters, which he wrote unto the Queen, and to some great men (especially in his Scotch affairs, set down by Mr. Burnet, when he stood single, as he did thro' all his imprisonments) the gravity and significance of that style may assure a misbeliever, that he had head and hand enough to express the ejaculations of a good, pious, and afflicted heart; and Solomon says, that *affliction gives understanding*, or elevates thoughts: and we cannot wonder, that so royal a heart, sensible of such afflictions, should make such a description of them, as he hath done in that book.

His sound
judgment.

Master of an
excellent
style and
pen.

And tho' he was of as flow a pen, as of speech; yet both were very significant: and he had that modest esteem of his own parts, that he would usually say, *He would willingly make his own dispatches, but that he found it better to be a Cobler, than a Shoemaker.* I have bin in company with very learned men, when I have brought them their own papers back from him, with his alterations, who ever confest his amendments to have bin very material. And I once by his commandment brought him a paper of my own to read, to see, whether it was fuitable unto his directions, and he disallow'd it slightly: I desir'd him, I might call Doctor Sanderson to aid me, and that the Doctor might understand his own meaning from himselfe; and with his Majestie's leave, I brought him, whilst he was walking, and taking the aire; whereupon wee two went back; but pleas'd him as little, when wee return'd it: for smilingly he said, *A man might have as good ware out of a Chandler's shop:* but afterwards he set it down with his own pen very plainly, and fuitable unto his own intentions. The thing was of that nature, (being too great an owning of the Scots, when Duke Hamilton was in the heart of England so meanely defeated,

defeated, and like the crafty fox lay out of countenance in the hands of his enemies,) that it chilled the Doctors ink; and when the matter came to be communicated, those honourable Persons, that then attended him, prevayld on him to decline the whole. And I remember, when his displeasure was a little off, telling him, how severely he had dealt in his charactering the best pen in England, Dr. Sanderfon's; he told me, he had had two Secretaries, one a dull man in comparison of the other, and yet the first best pleas'd him: *For, said he, my Lord Carleton ever brought me my own sense in my own words; but my Lord Faulkland most commonly brought me my instructions in so fine a dress, that I did not alwaies own them.* Which put me in mind to tell him a story of my Lord Burleigh and his son Cecil: for Burleigh being at Councill, and Lord Treasurer, reading an order penn'd by a new Clerk of the Councill, who was a Wit and Scholar, he flung it downward to the lower end of the Table to his son, the Secretary, saying, *Mr. Secretary, you bring in Clerks of the Councill, who will corrupt the gravity and dignity of the style of the Board:* to which the Secretary replied, *I pray, my Lord, pardon this, for this Gentleman is not warm in his place,*

and hath had so little to do, that he is wanton with his pen: but I will put so much busines upon him, that he shall be willing to observe your Lordship's directions. These are so little stories, that it may be justly thought, I am either vain, or at leasure to sett them down; but I derive my authority from an Author, the world hath ever revered, viz. Plutarch; who writing the lives of Alexander the great and Julius Cesar, runs into the actions, flowing from their particular natures, and into their private conversation, saying, These smaller things would discover the men, whilst their great actions only discover the power of their States.

Proofes of
his naturall
probity.

One or two things more then I may warrantably observe: First, as an evidence of his natural probity, whenever any young Nobleman or Gentleman of quality, who was going to travell, came to kiss his hand, he cheerfully would give them some good counsel, leading to morall virtæ, especially to good conversation; telling them, that *If he heard they kept good company abroad, he should reasonably expect, they would return qualified to serve him and their Country well, at home;* and he was very carefull to keep the youth in his times uncorrupted. This I find in the Memoires upon James Duke

Duke Hamilton, was his advice unto that noble and loyal Lord, William, afterwards, Duke Hamilton, who so well serv'd his Son, and never perfidiously dis-serv'd him, when in armes against him. Secondly, his forementioned intercepted letters to the Queen at Naisby had this passage in them, where mentioning religion, he said, *This is the only thing, wherein we two differ*; which even unto a miscreant Jew would have bin prooffe enough of this King's sincerity in his religion; and had it not bin providence or inadvertence, surely those, who had in this kind defam'd him, would never themselves have publish'd in print this passage, which thus justified him.

This may be truly said, That he valued the Reformation of his own Church, before any in the world; and was as sensible and as knowing of, and severe against, the deviations of Rome from the primitive Church, as any Gentleman in Christendom; and beyond those errors, no way quarrellsom towards it: for he was willing to give it its due, that it might be brought to be willing to accept, at least to grant, such an union in the Church, as might have brought a free and friendly communion between Dissenters, without the one's totall quitting

His high value for the Church of England.

quitting his errors, or the other's being necessitated to partake therein: and I truly believe this was the utmost both of his and his Archbishop's inclinations; and if I may not, yet both these Martyrs confessions on the scaffold (God avert the prophecy of the last, *Venient Romani*) surely may convince the world, that they both dyed true Assertors of the Reformation. And the great and learned light of this last age, Grotius, soon discern'd this inclination in him: for in his dedication of his immortal and scarce ever to be parallel'd book, *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, he recommends it to Lewis XIII, King of France, as the most Royall and Christian design imaginable for his Majesty to become a means to make an union amongst Christians in profession of religion; and therein he tells him, how well-knowing and well-disposed the King of England was thereunto. In a word, had he had as daring and active a courage to obviate danger; as he had a steddy and undaunted in all hazardous rencounters; or had his active courage equall'd his passive, the rebellious and tumultuous humor of those, who were disloyall to him, probably had been quash'd in their first rise: for thro'-out the English story it may be observed, that the

Wherein he
seemed de-
fective.

the souldier-like spirit in the Prince hath bin ever much more fortunate and esteem'd, than the pious: a Prince's awfull reputation being of much more defence to him, than his Regall (nay Legall) edicts.

After all this, it may be asked, what meridian or noon-day devil disturb'd all this happy state; and it may too truly be answered, it was an envy unto the Regall prerogative, which being singly, tho' limitedly, lodged in the Crown, was endeavour'd to be transferr'd jointly unto the King, and (as they call'd it) Parliament, which the Regall or Legall constitution of this English government will not bear. For, as shall be shew'd hereafter, in a tract by it self, the King is singly soveraign, and no power co-ordinate with him; nor in the Legislative power hath either one or both Houses more authority, than to advise or consent unto what may be beneficiall unto the subject and weal-publick: for upon those two hinges, *viz.* of prerogative, to keep the body of the people in their politick constitution in peace, and good order, and municipal laws; and to preserve inoffensiveness in conversation, and justice in contracts of one man towards another, doth the weight of all govern-

What disturb'd the good state and peace of those times.

government turn. Nor was ever Prince more willing, that the Benches in Westminster-Hall should determine of his prerogatives, than was this. Witnes the cases of the Parliament-Gentlemen, question'd in the King's-Bench Court, and of the Ship-money brought before all the Judges of England in the Exchequer-Chamber, both cases being adjudged in the King's right. But neither of these found the same Candor, when they were complain'd of in Parliament: for then not by way of appeal the sentences of the Courts were brought before the judicature of the Lords House, where the Judges might have given the reason for their decrees, but the uncontrollable and expeditious way of Legislature must cut in sunder that knot, which the oracle of law required should be untied; and what necessity of state forced the King, as he supposed, legally to require, necessity of fortune (the tumults of those times making his condition little less, than a duress) must force him to part with all; which is instanced to shew, that if any spirit of moderation had bin in the two Houses, there was a temper in this Prince to have prevented any necessity of running things to extremity.

Besides

Besides this, the firmnes of this Prince unto the Reform'd religion of his National Church was, because he well understood it to be a pure member of the Catholick; and therefore was resolute in the defense of it: and this created him much trouble from the designs and obstinacy of all Dissenters. For he espoused the protection of it, not as an engine of state, (as present Rome) nor as it might serve to promote a merchandizing and trading humor, (as our neighbour-State,) but as the institutions thereof were the evidences of the mystery of redemption; for he was sensible, how the simplicity of Christian Religion gave both unto GOD and unto Cæsar the things, which belonged unto either. So as tho' the *Depositum* of the Gospell and the function of his Ministry were entrusted to an order of men, separated for that service; yet for the civill peace, and that Sovereignty might be lodged in unity, the Secular power had the authority over the Ecclesiasticall; and neither the Episcopall Hierarchy nor the private spirit, but were made subordinate unto the secular authority, as most conducing unto the peace of mankind. This scripturall doctrine was rivetted in him; and an obstinate and furious zeal had so pos-

Why the King was so firm unto the Church of England.

possessed Dissenters, that when they could mingle their leavenous zeal with a dissatisfied Lay-lump; (tho' at first they were not one of twenty) it so fermented the blood, that at last it cast the whole body into a distemper, then burst into a fever, then ended in a phrensy; (as this story in the conclusion will shew) so as the King and his Bishops were gently treated, when they were onely said to be affected to Popery, and suppressors of the power of godlines; and the envy was directed chiefly against Archbishop Laud, who was principally in his Master's favour; but how causelessly, this character following will manifest.

But whether all this said on this King be true, as certainly it is, read the old Earle of Bristoll's book, wrote on his own behalfe, not the King's.

The character of Archbishop Laud.

Archbishop Laud was a man of an upright heart and a pious soul, but of too warm blood and too positive a nature towards asserting what he beleived a truth, to be a good Courtier; and his education fitted him as little for it, as his nature: which having bin most in the University, and among books and scholars, where oft canvassing affairs, that are agitated in that province, and prevailing in it, rather gave him wrong than

than right measures of a Court. He was generally acknowledg'd a good scholar, and throughly vers'd in Ecclesiastical learning. He was a zealot in his heart both against Popery and Presbytery; but a great assertor of Church-authority, instituted by Christ and his Apostles, and as primitively practis'd; which notwithstanding, he really and freely acknowledged subject unto the secular authority.

Zealous
against Pope-
ry and Pres-
bytery.

A great as-
sertor of Ec-
clesiasticall
authority
and disci-
pline.

And therefore he carefully endeavored to preserve the jurisdiction, which the Church anciently exercised, before the secular authority own'd her; at least so much thereof, as the law of this our Realm had apply'd to our circumstances; which our common Lawyers dayly struck at; and thro' prohibitions and other appeals every day lessened; and this bred an unkindnes to him in many of the long robe, however some of them were very carefull of the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

He was a man of great modesty in his own person and habit, and of regularity and devotion in his family: and as he was very kind to his Clergy, so he was very carefull to make them modest in their attire, and very diligent in their studies, in faithfully dispensing God's Word, reverently reading the Prayers, and

Kind to, and
very watch-
full over his
Clergy.

The great
work of re-
edifying the
Cathedrall
of St. Paul
carried on
by him.

and administering the Sacraments, and in preserving their Churches in cleanliness and with plain and fitting ornament, that so voyd of superstition, GOD's House in this age, where every man bettered his own, might not lye alone neglected; and accordingly he sett upon that great work of St. Paul's Church, which his diligence perfected in a great measure: and his Master's piety made magnificent that most noble structure by a Portico: but not long after the carved work thereof was broken down with axes and hammers, and the whole sacred edifice made not only a den of thieves, but a stable of unclean beasts, as I can testifie, having once gone into it purposely to observe: from which contamination Providence some few years since cleansed it by fire.

Watchfull
over the Pu-
titan-faction.

He prevented likewise a very private and clandestine designe of introducing Nonconformists into too too many Churches; for that society of men (that they might have Teachers to please their itching ears) had a designe to buy in all the Lay-Impropriations, which the Parish-Churches in Henry the VIII's time were robb'd of, and lodging the Advowsons and Presentations in their own Feoffees, to have introduced men, who would have
intro-

introduced doctrines suitable to their dependences, which the Court already felt too much the smart of, by being forced to admitt the Presentations of the Lay-Patrons, who too often dispose their benefices to men, rather suitable to their own opinions, than the Articles and Canons of the Church.

All this bred him more and more envy; but if it had pleas'd God to have given him an uninterrupted course, and if few of his Successors had walked in his stepps, wee might, without any tendency to Popery, or danger of superstition, have serv'd God reverently and uniformly, and according unto Primitive practice and purity, and not have bin, as we are now, like a shivered glass, scarce ever to be made whole again. Thus finding Providence had led him into authority, he very really and strongly opposed both Popery and Presbytery. He was sensible, how the first by additions had perverted the purity of Religion, and turned it into a policy; but resolving not to contest Rome's truths, tho' he spared not her errors, both Papist and Presbyter, with all their Lay-Party, were well contented, that it might be believed, he was Popishly affected. And being conscious likewise, how Presbytery or

G

the

Envyed and
hated for it
by that Party.

the Calvinisticall Reformation, which many here, and more in Scotland, affected, by subtraction and novel interpretation, had forsaken the good old ways of the primitive Church, and was become dangerous to Monarchy, he sett himself against this, as well as that: but both their weights crusht him.

His book
against Fisher
the Jesuite.

The evidence, which he gave of his zeal against Popery, is manifested by as learned and as judicious a book, (and so acknowledged even by his adversaries) as ever was written on that subject by any man since the Reformation, and is so esteem'd by all abroad, as well as at home: which book was so well digested by his great Master's Royall heart and hand, (for Bishop Andrews, Laud, and Hooker were this Prince's three great Authors) that if that epitome, which his Majestie made thereof, and I have seen under his own hand, might be communicated, it might be lookt on, as another ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. And this good Bishop, like his Master, maintain'd it as well with his blood, as his ink; for when he was murder'd and martyr'd upon the scaffold, (no time for dissimulation) he dyed with this profession.

But before this time, those, that were purely Presbyterians (and in that sense
but

but very competently learned) had gott a shelter under those, who were no way Presbyterian, as Presbytery opposed Episcopacy and Canons, and yet agreeing with Calvin, and those that followed him, in the opinions about Reprobation, Election, Free-Grace, &c. these men were a cover for the purely Presbyterial spirit to take deeper root: and as all dissentions in the Church spawn new sects; so under the purely Presbyterian began to spread those various sects, which wee now call Independents. This was no new thing: for wee have before mentioned, how the Reform'd Exiles in Queen Mary's time, which had retired into Germany, had divided themselves under Episcopall, Presbyteriall, and Independent Professors; altho' this last number of men were then scarce a number; yet of all three there were, and these last were in this Nation in no sort thought considerable, untill the Egyptian slime and dog-star-heat in the Parliament 1640 bred so many Congregational insects, that they as laudably made Presbytery appear to them Antichristian, as Episcopacy had appeared so unto the Presbyterians. All which is enough to distract weak judgments; and these severall contests about truth enough, to

How the Presbyterians sheltered themselves.

Rise of the Independents.

make weak men believe, that there was no truth; and then it is easie to make the next step, and to believe, with Mr. Hobbs, the present revolutions of nature to have bin eternal; and so in relation unto piety and a future state, there needed no other inquisition to be made, than to observe the religion of their Sovereign, or Country; nor in Civill converse or contract any natural law further obligatory, than as promulged by the Municipall laws of the place.

Confusions
arising from
the severall
Sects: and
the advantage
thence
taken by the
Papists.

In a word, these opinions and contests flung all into chaos; and this gave the great advantages unto the Romanists, who want not their differences among themselves, but better manage them: for they having retained a great part of primitive truths, and having to plead some antiquity for their many doctrinal errors, and their ambitious and lucrative encroachments; and having the policy of flinging coloquintida into our pott, by our dissentions and follies, they have with the motion of the circle of the wheel, brought themselves, who were at the Nadir, to be almost at the Zenith of our globe; but by too strong a fire, even at this present, when the character is transcribing, it may be hoped, projection is hindred, and the glasse broken.

But

But since wee have mention'd divisions to be amongst our Episcopall and Canonical men, wee think our selves obliged to expresse, from what root their dissensions sprang; and they may both with Jeremy say, *Wo to us, that we were sons of contention*; for whilst they argued amongst themselves about those abstruse questions of Predestination, Free-Will, Free-Grace, &c. and some followed Calvin and Beza, and others Melancthon and Castalio: the slye Anti-episcopall Presbyterian, under disguise of great lowliness, and admitting into his society any sect, that made up this cry, gained opportunities to overthrow both the foremention'd Canonical Disputers. True it is, that some little time after our Reformation, whose Articles had avoided those thorny disputes, many of our eminent Bishops in the above mentioned mysterious points readilier followed Calvin, than Melancthon; yet our first Reformers, having wisely declin'd those points, and kept these Articles in such a latitude, as might displease neither Party; when in the University of Cambridge one Dr. Baron a French-man, and another, Mr. Barret, a learned disputant, began to handle these heads more freely, than suited with quiet, the good

The originall of these differences in points of Religion.

Arch-Bishop Whitgift, who was very moderate therein, unfortunately departed from his own usuall prudence, and was prevailed on by Bishop Fletcher of London, and some others, in order onely to the quieting University-disputes, to determine against Baron, Margaret-Professor, in those nine Articles, usually called *Lambeth Articles*, which were resolved on in November *anno* 1595. Which fact being made known unto Qu. Elisabeth by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, she was so displeased thereat, that these Articles were quasht, and all threaten'd, that had a hand therein, to be attainted of a *Premunire*; so as soon after a copie of them was scarce to be found at Cambridge. If these great points be examined by that description in Scripture which is there made of the nature of God, or of the naturall freedom of man, or by the most primitive Fathers before St. Austin's time, the Assertors of that, which some of late nickname Arminianism, will be found as well by Scripture as reason to have no unsoundnes in them. For the men before mentioned, Melancthon, and Latimer, and Castalio, and Bishop Andrews, and Mountague, afterward Bishop of Chichester, and Laud (who by this appears singly and by him.

himselfe no Innovator, though concurring with the forenamed learned men) were all as great Scholars and Divines, as any, who were of a contrary opinion: such, as was Fletcher Bishop of London, and Mountague Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Davenant, and Prideaux, or any others. But all this is said to bewaile this contention in the Church, and to shew, that if both sides had observed the wisdom of the Churches reformation in the latitude of her articles, neither side by their sly adversaries had bin overthrown. Thus still it is, *Perditio tua ex te, O Israel!*

And hence it may appear, that both sides were faulty; it being much more necessary for us men to know, what God positively hath determined in relation to our duty, than what in point of decree he hath preordained in order unto our salvation. Altho' it is true too, that God's eternal decrees of man's last end were not without a just respect unto his actions; as our salvation it self depends upon the performance of our duty thereto required. But 'tis not necessary for Governors by any other force, than that of reason, to bow mens minds into a rigid conformity of opinions, if they be learned and sincere persons, who edify the souls

of men towards God, and confirm the allegiance of men towards their Prince: but to silence such disputes in the Pulpit, the King had given order, but was not well observed on either side. What followed this division, may teach men of future ages the danger of widening differences upon unnecessary or circumstantial points, among those, who agree in fundamentalls, or disagree upon so slight abstruse doctrines, as are not capable of easy resolutions; especially when an enemy watches the undermining both. For whilst the Church-Puritan, (of which number there were very many knowing, learned, and probably good men) opposed the more Canonical Churchmen, the Knave-Puritan overthrew both: for the less ceremonial sort of Churchmen, such as Bishop Prideaux, and Bishop Brownrig, and Doctor Oldsworth, and Shute, and Udall, all disclaimed the Reformation projected by our long Lay-Parliament-men and Assembly of Divines, and attested our own, and were involv'd without discrimination in the Churches misery. And Dr. Prideaux was wont to say, tho' Arch-Bishop Laud, and he could never understand one another till it was too late, yet he revered no man more before his death, that he had wisely fore-

foreseen what lay hid to many of them; and Dr. Oldsworth himselfe told me at Hampton Court, that he had bin as much enlightned in Church Affairs by the King himselfe, as by any of the books, he ever had read. And I remember in a large discourse of this nature, he said, *I will ingenuously confesse to you, I have denied a good Scholar his Grace at Cambridge, for the choise of his Question, because I thought there had bin some spirit of malice in it; which if I were in the same charge, I should now grant it him, because I know he had a discerning spirit.*

These reflexions make me heartily sorry, that we have a new word of distinction come up amongst us, viz. *Latitudinarian*; the ill consequences whereof we may in the future feele, if it be not well expounded by those good and learned men, to whom it is assigned; for this too often falls out, that in future ages those, that take up the title, retain not the moderation of the first Assertors.

Latitudinarians.

As this good Arch-Bishop I write of, had these great eminences, so he may be acknowledged to have failed in those prudences, which belong unto a great Minister of State, who like a wise Physician is to consider times and seasons,

Wherein this great and good Arch-Bishop seemed defective

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as well as persons and diseases, and to regard those complications, which usually are mixed in ill habits of body, and to use more alterative than purgative Physick. For popular bents and inclinations are cured more by a steady than precipitate hand or counsel; multitudes being to be drawn over from their errors, rather by wayes they discern not, than by those, which they are likely to contest; whilst upon single persons and great men courses of violence and authority may be exercised. But Ministers of State unwillingly run this course, because they would have the honour of perfecting the work they affect in their own time; and the multitude of this good man's busines, and the promptnes of his nature, made those ceremonies, which are necessary by great Persons to be paid unto men in his station, to be unwelcome unto him, and so he discharged himselfe of them, and thereby disobliged those persons, who thought their quality, tho' not their busines, required a patient and respectfull entertainment. This I reflect upon, because I heard from a good hand, that the Marquis of Argile making him an insidious visit, and he, knowing he neither loved him nor the Church, enter-

entertaining him not with that franknes he should have done, but plainly telling him, he was at that time a little busy about the King's affairs, this great Lord took it so much in indignation, and esteem'd it such a Lordly Prelacy, that he declaimed against it, and became (if possible) more enemy both to him and the Church, than he was before. The rectitude of his nature therefore made him not a fitt instrument to struggle with the obliquity of those times; and he had this infirmity likewise, that he believed those forward instruments, which he employed, followed the zeal of their own natures, when they did but observe that of his: for as soon as difficulty or danger appeared, his petty instruments shrunk to nothing, and shewed, from whom they borrowed their heat.

He weighed not well his Master's condition; for he saw him circled in by too many powerfull Scots, who misaffected the Church, and had joyned with them too many English Counsellors and Courtiers, who were of the same leaven. If he had perceived an universall concurrence in his own Clergy, who were esteemed Canonick men, his attempts might have seem'd more probable, than otherwise it could: but for him to think
by

Bishop Wil-
liams.

by a purgative Phyfick to evacuate all those cold flimy humors, which thus overflowed the body, was ill judged; for the good affections of the Prince, back'd only by a naked or paper-authority, sooner begets contumacy, than compliance in disaffected Subjects. And if this authority served him not, but with difficulty, to master that great Prelate, Williams, Lord Bishop of Lincolne, (who understood a Court with more sagacity, than he did, and who was as high in spirit, as he had bin in place, having born the great Seale of England, and who, if he had bin look'd on in his inside, was more a discontented Courtier, than an uncanonical Bishop: (notwithstanding his *Coal from the Altar*) so as in a word, the contests between these two great Prelates exprest a temper, which became neither of them: nor if his authority serv'd not without the same difficulty to bring Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Leighton to their just sentence, but their prosecution rather serv'd to create envy, than deterr any from their scandalous practices, it might justly have cautioned him, when the time came, from irritating this malignant humor in Scotland; which was too likely to be powred into the veins of England: for this maxime

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is never to be forgott by the State-Physician, *Malum benè positum non est movendum*; if the stone lye quiet in the body, provoke it not by diuretiques. And this shall suffice to be said of that well intentioned, but not truly considerative, great man, unles wee add this single thing further, that he who looks upon him thro' those Canons, which in Synod passed in his time, will find him a true Assertor of Religion, Royalty, and Property; and that his grand designe was no other, than that of our first Reformation; which was, that our Church might stand upon such a foot of Primitive and Ecclesiastick authority, as suited with God's word, and the best Interpreters of it, sound reason and Primitive practice. And untill this Nation is blest with such a spirit, it will lye in that darknes and confusion the Sects at this time have flung it into.

Having thus described one great Church-man, wee may the more fitly make mention of another, because they were so intimate and bosome Friends, and because this first is supposed to have introduced the last into that eminent employment of Lord Treasurer. Had nature mingled their tempers, and allayed the

The character of Bishop Juxon.

the one by the prudence and foresight of the other, or inspirited the other by the zeal and activity of his Friend, nature had framed a better paist, than usually she doth, when she is most exact in her work about mankind: sincerity and integrity being eminent in them both. This reverend Prelate, Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London, was of a meek spirit, and of a solid and steddý judgment; and having addicted his first studies to the Civil Law, (from which he took his title of Doctor, tho' he afterwards took on him the Ministry) this fitted him the more for Secular and State affairs. His temper and prudence wrought so upon all men, that tho' he had the two most invidious characters both in the Ecclesiasticall and Civil State; one of a Bishop, the other of a Lord Treasurer: yet neither drew envy on him; tho' the humor of the times tended to brand all great men in employment. About the year 1634 the Lord Portland dyed, and the Treasury was put into Commission; by which means the true state thereof became distinctly to be known: and in the year 1635, this good and judicious man had the white staff put into his hand: and tho' he found the revenue low and much anticipated; yet withall meeting with
times

times peaceable and regular, and his Master enclined to be frugall, he held up the dignity and honor of his Majesty's Household, and the splendor of the Court, and all publick expences, and justice in all contracts; so as there were as few dissatisfactions in his time, as perchance in any, and yet he cleared off the anticipations on the revenue, and sett his Master beforehand. The choice of this good man shewed, how remote it was from this King's intentions, to be either tyrannicall or arbitrary; for so well he demeaned himselfe thro' his whole seaven years employment, that neither as Bishop or Treasurer, came there any one accusation against him in that last Parliament 1640, whose eares were opened, nay itching after such complaints. Nay even after the King's being driven from London, he remained at his house, belonging to his Bishoprick, in Fulham, and sometimes was visited by some of the Grandees, and found respect from all, and yet walked steddily in his old paths. And he retained so much of his Master's favour, that when the King was admitted to any Treaty with the two Houses Commissioners, he alwayes commanded his attendance on him: for he ever valued his advice. I remember, that the
King

King, being busy in dispatching some letters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on the Bishop, and to bring him back his opinion in a certaine affaire : I humbly pray'd his Majestie, that I might rather bring him with me, least I should not expresse his Majestie's sense fully, nor bring back his so significantly, as he meant it; and because there might be need for him further to explain himselfe, and least he should not speake freely to me: to which the King replyed, *Go, as I bid you, if he will speak freely to any body, he will speak freely to you: This* (the King said) *I will say of him, I never gott his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it, I was ever the better for it.* This character of so judicious a Prince I could not omitt, because it carried in it the reason of that confidence, that called him to be his Majestie's Confessor before his death, and to be his Attendant on the scaffold at his death; so as all Persons concurring thus about this good Prelate, wee may modestly say, he was an eminent man.

The important transactions of State, between 1628 and 1640, to be found in the following characters or severall great men.

Having fallen into this method of setting forth the nature of the seed by the temper of the mould or ground it grew in, the rest of the most important actions in this period of time, *viz.* between

between 1628 and 1640, will be found in the characters of the chiefe Agents in those times, viz. the King's assistances unto the King of Sweden in the character of Marquis Hamilton, who was the hinge, on which turned all the Scotch affairs, and whose service the King used in quenching the flame of their first commotions and after-rebellions; unto which, whether he brought water or oyl, was to most men doubtful; but both to him and them the fire was at last destructive: and in the character of the Earl of Strafford will be involved the state of Ireland in that time: and in the Earle of Northumberland's character falls in all our Navall affairs, especially that interruption we gave unto the Hollanders in their fishing on our seas, and their submission to exercise it by our license and leave, paying a small duty: and in his time of being Admirall, an accompt of the great affront wee receiv'd, in permitting the Dutch Fleet to attaque the Spanish, even in our own ports and Dover-road. Which disreputation, as likewise the first dishonorable Pacification made with the Scots, ministred gross food to nourish the ill humors of designing and innovating persons; and the last preparations against Scotland, tho' chiefly managed by

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the Earle of Strafford, as Lieutenant to the Earle of Northumberland, Generall of that expedition, being as unfortunate as the former, made way for all those subversions of government and miseries of this people, which the councils in the Parliament begun in November 1640 brought upon this land.

The King's
progress into
Scotland.

In the year 1633 strongly invited thereunto by the Scots, the King resolved of a progress thither, in order to his Coronation. But before we bring him on his way in that journey, wee will give some little account, how the state of affairs stood then betwixt Him and his Nobles, and betwixt Him and his Ecclesiasticks.

The state of
the Reformation
of the Church
of Scotland.

The Reformation of the Church in Scotland being made in the minority of King James, and the eyes of the Nobility and Gentry being stronglier fixt upon the Church-lands, than upon any other part of that designe, it may well be conceived, their proceedings therein could not be very regular. And tho' by Act of Parliament the lands of the Cathedrall-Churches and Religious Houses, were given to the Crown, yet by the craft and connivence of the Earle of Murray, then Regent, and not by any grant, these lands were shared among many of the Nobility;

Nobility; and by this means the Nobility oppressively lorded it over their vassalls, and gave the Clergy so poor stipends, that 'twas very scandalous; and the Crown, thus defrauded, had no means to releive them. Queen Elisabeth made politick uses of the factions and disorders of those times: and therefore rather reprov'd, than redrest them. However, she was forc'd to tell them, unles they would make some conformity of their Church unto ours, she could not so well, or so heartily own them against the French; who powerfully appeared in behalfe of their Queen, as they found it necessary for her to do; and they made her large promises therein, which she contented her selfe with: and afterwards not much more lookt after. For the disorders of one State are the advantages of another, and they, like ill-natured greedy Chirurgeons, put back a wound with one plaister, which they had forwarded towards a cure by another. But King James, when he was come to ripe years, like the true Father of his Country, sincerely sought the remedy of their disordered Reformation, and really affecting what Queen Elisabeth propos'd in the year 1596 towards a conformity of the two Churches of England and Scotland,

procured an order from an Assembly at Aberdeen, for composing a Liturgy and a new book of Canons. This was six years, before he came to the crown of England. And in the year 1606 he obtain'd another at an Assembly at Perth, which was four years after his access to this Crown; so as both before and after he struggled for the same thing; and he obtain'd, that the Lord's Supper should be received kneeling, and an authority for the use of some other decencies in Church-affairs; and Marquis Hamilton the father, being his Commissioner in the year 1612, by the Regall authority settled thirteen Bishops in that Kingdom: whereof three were ordain'd by the Bishops in England, and those three ordain'd all the rest in Scotland. All which is thus early sett down, to shew, that, tho' unfortunately, King Charles went on with Queen Elizabeth's and his Father's designe; and what not onely the Clergy, but many great Lords there now countenanced, and too too probably was advanc'd by that well meaning, but not sufficiently cautious, Prelate, Archbishop Laud; yet neither this King, nor this Archbishop began it.

* The true cause of the tumults and rebellion of the Scotch Covenanters.

Nor was this the true cause * of the discontent; for this King had early taken notice

notice of the depredation made in Regent Murrey's time, and of the weak title of the great men there to those lands; and in behalfe of the Crown, and of the poor Clergy-men, and of the miserable vassalls, and yet not without respect unto the present owners in confirmation of their title, upon all these grounds he issued a commission to examine this matter: but this was so resented, that it was noised to be an endeavour to introduce Popery, and to reduce Scotland (like Ireland) into the form of a Province. However the Scots seemed very eager for the King's coming among them; but our Statesmen should have liquidated these differences, before they should have thought of this journey of his Majestie's; for the King ought to have entred that country, like a river, that overflows an hungry ground, and leaves some silt behind it; but putting them rather to expences by the emulation of the apparell and feastings, which for the honor of their Nation the Scots very nobly performed; when the King went back, they were very sensible of their expences, and found vanity left emptines: and an hungry spirit is alwaies a complaining one; and they knew, England was not like to yeild them such a harvest in this King's

reign, as it had done in his Father's. And the King during his abode there, having used in his own Chappel the Liturgy of the Church of England, was made believe, he might in the future fix that service there: but this was but used as a leaven to swell and puff up the populacy, and by such means, rather to seize on what the Church held, than to restore any thing, which wrongfully the Lay-Lords had usurpt.

Marquis Hamilton's character.

Having said thus much of the state of the Scotch affairs in generall, wee will now returne to the great man, Marquiss Hamilton, who had the great influence on them. The family of the Hamilton's is of an high and noble descent in Scotland, and are supposed to be nigher in blood unto the Crown, than is that of the family of Lenox: but I shall not intermeddle in that Heraldry. The person of the Father I knew at Court in the latter end of King James's time, and in the beginning of this King's Reigne. He was a goodly, proper, and gracefull Gentleman, and generally esteemed, as well by the English, as beloved by the Scots. He fed his own greatnes and pleasure, more than busied himselfe in intrigues or designs at Court. He had two sons, James and William; neither of them so gracefull per-

persons as himfelfe, and both of fome hard
vifage: the elder of a neater fhape, and
gracefuller motion, than his Brother;
however, I was in the Prefence-Chamber
at Whitehall, when after his Father's
death he returned from his travells, and
waiting on the King from Chappell with
great obfervance, and the King uſing
him with great kindnes, the eyes of the
whole Court were upon the young man;
his hair was ſhort, and he wore a little
black callot-cap, which was not then uſu-
all; and I wondred much, that all preſent,
who uſually at a Court put the beſt
characters upon a riſing man, generally
agreed in this, that the aire of his coun-
tenance had ſuch a cloud on it, that
nature ſeems to have impreſt *aliquid*
inſigne: which I often reflected on,
when his future actions led him firſt to be
ſuſpected, then to be declaimed againſt.
I have lately ſeen the Memoires of a
countryman of his, who is maſter of a
very good pen, and who hath repre-
ſented this great man by a light, which
few others either of his own Nation or
ours diſcovered him by; willingly I
would ſully no man's fame, eſpecially ſo
eminent a perſon's; for to write inve-
ctives is more criminal, than to erre in
eulogies. And for my ſelfe, I was known

unto him, and ever civilly treated by him; however I must concur in that general opinion, that naturally he loved to gain his point rather by some serpentine winding, than by a direct path: which was very contrary to the nature of his younger Brother, of whom that gallant loyall Peer, the Earle of Montrofs, was wont to say, that even when this Gentleman was his enemy, and in armes against the King, he did it open-faced, and without the least treachery, either to his Majestie, or any of his Ministers: a character worthy of a great man, tho' deflecting from duty.

His marriage
with a Niece
of the Duke
of Bucking-
ham.

He married the Niece of the Duke of Buckingham, the daughter of the Earle of Denbigh, who from a private Gentleman of the house of Feilding, was raised to this title, having married the Duke's sister: for he took pleasure in advancing his kindred. Upon what occasion I know not; but not long after, it being supposed upon some discontent, the Marquis retired into Scotland; but after the Duke's death he was recalled, and made Master of the Horse, as he was Gentleman of his Majestie's Bedchamber; and had a large proportion of his Majestie's favour and confidence, and knew very dextrously, how to manage both,
and

Master of the
Horse to the
King.

and to accompany the King in his hard chases of the stag, and in the toilsom pleasure of a racket: by which last he often filled his own, and emptied his Master's purse; and tho' he carried it very modestly and warily, yet he had a strong influence upon the greatest affairs at Court, especially when they related unto his own Country. So as tho' the Duke of Lenox was the greater man, and likewise a very well qualified Gentleman, and of great probity and sincerity, as his actions evidenc'd even unto and after the death of this good King; yet Hamilton was the polar or northern starr.

The first publick action he mov'd in, was in assistance of the King of Sweden, who in the year 1630 invaded Germany, encouraged and assisted therein by the French, who at that time were digging even at the root of the Austrian family; for the Emperor was grown very great by a numerous and powerful army; which the pretense of the Palsgrave, our King's brother-in-law, unto the elective Kingdom of Bohemia, had given him opportunity to raise, and his speedy successes against this unfortunate Prince made those forces the more formidable unto the Electors and lesser Princes of the Empire; which both Spain and the Empe-

His first publick action, in assistance given to the King of Sweden by his Majesty.

Emperor himself perceiving, those forces in a great number were not only disbanded, but the Emperor's Generall Wallestein, a downright Souldier, (and of so saturnicall a disposition, nay some thought, ambition, that the very Empire was the object of his eye) laid aside; and yet the jealousie of the Emperor's greatnes was still kept up; so as by this disbanding of the Emperor's forces, and the like of the King of Denmark's, who had improsperously managed a warr upon his neighbouring skirts of the Empire, the King of Sweden got opportunity to raise a considerable army of veteran soldiers. Our King was unwilling openly to appear against the Emperor; for he had some hope to restore his Brother-in-law by treaty; nevertheless reflecting, how his Father had in that kind been often deceived, he thought it not amiss to give way, that Marquis Hamilton should raise 6000 men, halfe Scotch and halfe English, to strengthen Sweden; and privately the King furnished Hamilton with 100000 *l.* for that service.

Meldrum
and Ramsey,
his confid-
ents and
creatures.

Hamilton had his eye no sooner on this designe, but he had sent away beforehand a subtil Statist, one Meldrum, into one part of Germany, and David Ramsey, a great Hector, both Scots, into another. Ramsey was a Gentleman of the Privy

Privy Chamber unto the King, and lived by his Majestie's Table and Exchequer: and yet both were so ingratefull, that they opened their mouths with derogatory words against the King's person and government; which words were so well known and proved unto the King, that he exprest very sharply his displeasure unto the Marquiss against them both; and upon return unto Court of the Lord Mackay, a man of great honor, and a very good Soldier, he mentioned words of a deeper designe, said unto him by Ramsey; which being denied by Ramsey, who made the proposition to Mackay a tryall by combat was demanded and accepted, and a Court-martiall erected. But during the same trial, the King lodged Hamilton most commonly singly in his Bedchamber, to expresse his confidence in him; and at last the Martiall court was interdicted, and the combat forbid.

The Marquiss with his small army being a little before shipped off, he landed his men at Elsenore. Sir Henry Vane, his great Confident, by his means was at that time English Ambassador with the King of Sweden; and old Lesly, who was at that time a cheife Commander in the Swedish army, was sent by that King with some veteran forces to conduct

His landing
at Elsenore.

duct the Marquifs into Silefia: fo as wee fee, how long Vane and Lesley, the Scotch Generall in the fucceeding Scotch rebellion, were his creatures. But to decline particulars, his English and Scotch army in a short time without the leaft confiderable action or losse were reduced into two thin Regiments, and put under two Scotch Colonels: and he returns himselfe into England; and it may be well supposed, these poor remains of men soon mouldred away, like all the rest.

His returne
into England.

Upon his return he would sometimes merrily say, he had learnt no High-Dutch, but one proverb, *Ein bernhertziker soldat ist ein hongfoot fore Godt*; or, *A mercifull soldier is a rogue in God's repute*. However, the King graciously received him into his old employments and favour. It was part of Mackay's charge, that Ramsey would have drawn him over to the devotion of Hamilton, who might at one time or other lead an army into England. The kingdom of Scotland singly could have bin no bait (tho' a crown be a deceiving object) unto him; but the disturbances in England, which might have been well foreseen, might prove a good market both for him and all his party. Settled then in his Majestie's favour, and reaping

reaping all the benefits of it, wee will now quitt him, untill the year 1637 and 1638, when the tumults and uproars in Scotland bring him upon the stage again; and his crafty managing thereof, by the sentence of those, who a little before had murdered his Master, soon after brought him to the scaffold.

The Lord Viscount Wentworth, Lord President of the North, whom the Lord Treasurer Portland had brought into his Majestie's affairs, from his ability and activity had wrought himselfe much into his Majestie's confidence; and about the year 1632 was appointed by the King to be Lord Deputy of Ireland, where the state of affairs was in no very good posture the revenue of the crown not defraying the standing army there, nor the ordinary expences; and the deportment of the Romanists being there, also very insolent, and the Scots plantations in the northern parts of that Realm looking upon themselves, as if they had been a distinct body. So as here was subject matter enough for this great man to work on; and considering his hardines, it may well be supposed, that the difficulties of his employment, being means to shew his abilities, were gratefull to him; for he was every way quali-

The Lord
Strafford's
character.

His naturall
parts strong.

His temper
somewhat
fowre.

His acquired
parts excel-
lent.

qualified for busines; his naturall faculties being very strong and pregnant, his understanding, aided by a good phansy, made him quick in discerning the nature of any busines; and thro' a cold brain he became deliberate and of a sound judgement. His memory was great, and he made it greater by confiding in it. His elocution was very fluent, and it was a great part of his talent readily to reply, or freely to harangue upon any subject. And all this was lodged in a fowre and haughty temper; so as it may probably be believed, he expected to have more observance paid to him, than he was willing to pay to others, tho' they were of his own quality; and then he was not like to conciliate the good will of men of the lesser station.

His acquired parts, both in University and Inns-of-Court Learning, as likewise his forreign-travells, made him an eminent man, before he was a conspicuous; so as when he came to shew himselfe first in publick affairs, which was in the House of Commons, he was soon a bell-weather in that flock. As he had these parts, he knew how to set a price on them, if not overvalue them: and he too soon discovered a roughnes in his nature, which a man no more obliged by him,

him, than I was, would have called an injustice; tho' many of his Confidents, (who were my good friends, when I like a little worm, being trod on, would turn and laugh, and under that disguise say as piquant words, as my little wit would help me with) were wont to swear to me, that he endeavoured to be just to all, but was resolv'd to be gracious to none, but to those, whom he thought inwardly affected him: which never bowed me, till his broken fortune, and as I thought, very unjustifiable prosecution, made me one of the fifty six, who gave a negative to that fatall Bill, which cut the thread of his life.

He gave an early specimen of the roughnes of his nature, when in the eager pursuit of the House of Commons after the Duke of Buckingham, he advised or gave a counsel against another, which was afterwards taken up and pursued against himselfe. Thus pressing upon another man's case, he awakened his own fate. For when that House was in consultation, how to frame the particular charge against that great Duke, he advised to make a generall one, and to accuse him of treason, and to let him afterwards get off, as he could; which befell himselfe at last. I beleive he should
make

make no irrational conjecture, who determined, that his very eminent parts to support a Crown, and his very rugged nature to contest disloyalty, or withstand change of government, made his enemies implacable to him. It was a great infirmity in him, that he seem'd to overlooke so many, as he did; since every where, much more in Court, the numerous or lesser sort of attendants can obstruct, create jealousies, spread ill reports, and do harme: for as 'tis impossible, that any power or deportment should satisfy all persons: so there a little friendlines and openness of carriage begets hope, and lessens envy.

His stature
and mien.

In his person he was of a tall stature, but stooped much in the neck. His countenance was cloudy, whilst he moved, or sat thinking; but when he spake, either seriously or facetiously, he had a light-som and a very pleasant ayre: and indeed whatever he then did, he performed very gracefully. The greatnes of the envy, that attended him, made many in their prognosticks to bode him an ill end; and there went current a story of the dream of his Father, who being both by his wife, nighest friends, and Physicians, thought to be at the point of his death, fell suddenly into so profound a sleep,

sleep, and lay quietly so long, that his Wife, uncertain of his condition, drew nigh his bed, to observe, whether she could hear him breath, and gently touching him, he awaked with great disturbance, and told her the reason was, she had interrupted him in a dream, which most passionately he desired to have known the end of. For, said he, I dream'd one appear'd to me, assuring me, that *I should have a son*, (for 'till then he had none) *who should be a very great and eminent man: but — and in this instant thou didst awake me, whereby I am bereaved of the knowledge of the further fortune of the child.* This I heard, when this Lord was but in the ascent of his greatnes, and long before his fall: and afterwards conferring with some of his nighest Relations, I found the tradition was not disown'd. Sure I am, that his station was like those turfs of earth or sea-banks, which by the storm swept away, left all the in-land to be drown'd by popular tumult.

At his coming into Ireland, he dispos'd all his busines into so good a method and order, and kept up so the state of that Court, that it was a good resemblance of his Master's: which at that time was the most regular and
I splen-

His govern-
ment of Ire-
land.

splendid Court in Christendom; (set aside the King of France his military and numerous Guards) and he so settled all the Benches of Justice, that by able and upright Judges the decrees and dispatches there were very just and expeditious; yet he was too apt to draw some particular busineses out of their proper channell unto his own jurisdiction; the instances whereof, as they are to be found in the articles of his Charge; so by his answers thereunto it will appear, that his determinations upon those Cases were not so much his fault, as his haughtines to amplifie his own authority. He brought the Army unto its just number; and as he was very carefull of its pay, so he was very exact about their discipline; which quelled the stubbornnes of the Natives, and quasht their hopes of innovating in state, or spreading of their religion. For from a froward insolence he soon reduced them to a modest and private exercise of their Romish profession: for the Deputy was a sound Protestant himselfe, and endeavoured to regulate the Irish Church unto the English, and by the learning and piety of the good Archbishop of Armagh, and the solidity of his two Confidents, Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of London-Derry, and Doctor Mar-

Margetson, with the other learned Bishops and Divines there, he brought that Church into a great and good state; and his influence was so extensive, that that great and considerable body of Scots, which inhabit about Ulster, and are as it were a selfe-subsisting Corporation, and totally Presbyterians, carried a greater awe to the Government, than in some time before they had done. Trade he enlarged very much, which brought both industry and wealth to the Nation, and as he managed it, a good increase of revenue unto the King's Exchequer: which thro' many revived rights and well-weighed particulars he so increased, that the revenue of the Nation defrayed the whole charge of it, and he was enabled to remitt a considerable summe of money, about 20 or 30000 *l.* over hither, which for many ages before had been a charge unto this Kingdom. He sett up severall beneficiall manufacturies, especially those of yarne and flax; which designe, if he had had time to have gone on in, he certainly would have brought to good effects. And as he was very carefull by all ingenious and politick means to profit the Nation, he govern'd it so like a good English-man, that he endeavoured to make that correspond

with the advantages of England, and to keep the dependences of that Crown on this. In doing all this, and in vindicating the rights and revenues of the Crown, it was unavoydable, but he must displease some great men, as the Earle of Corke, who from a very private Gentleman, (having early and long bin in that kingdom) had raised the most considerable estate of any great man (native or forreigner) there, Viscount Ranalagh, and Annesly Lord Mount-Norris, Vice-Treasurer; (which in that Kingdom in effect is Treasurer) and if over these, the Lord Deputy made some inspection, it was no marvell, he had so little of their good, and so much of their ill-will, as they afterwards in his troubles shewed.

Embroidments
with several
great Persons
of that King-
dom.

Unavoidable it is, but that great men give great discontents to some, and the lofty humor of this great man (whose foible it was to be too often embroyled in those ungratefull and intangling disputes, which the Latines call *Simultates*, bickerings or animosities, which lye cold and heavy in the stomack, and break forth onely when one Party hath the advantage over the other) engaged him too often, and against too many in that kind. And particularly one with the old Chan-

Chancellour Loftus, which was fullyed by an amour, as was supposed, betwixt him and his daughter-in-law. But with these virtues and infirmities wee will leave him, ruling prosperously in Ireland, untill his own ambition or presumption brought him over into England in the year 1638, to take up a lost game, wherein he lost himself.

The Earle of Northumberland's concern in these affairs was very disastrous to the King, by the great trust he put in him, even by the means of the last Lord, whom wee have so freely charactered. He was of an high-born family, descended by his paternal stock from Charles the great by Josceline, a younger son of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, who married the daughter and heir of Percy; yet this Family was noted often to be unsteddy to the Crown. But this Gentleman, being a gracefull young man, of great sobriety and regularity, and in all kinds promising and hopefull to be an eminent ornament to the Crown, the King cast a friendly, nay a fatherly, eye upon him, and was observed to use him with respect, as well as kindnes; and from being Master of the Horse to the Queen, about the year 1636 made him Lord High-Admirall of England, as

The Earle of Northumberland's character.

great a trust, as could be put upon any man, and enough to have purged a blood, that had some taint in it. He was in this year sent out to sea with a Navy of about 60 shippes, to interrupt the Holland-fishing on our coast and on the North-seas; he took many of their busses, and disperst others; which brought the States-Generall to make such an application to the King, as might in the future obtaine his license and permission, which the King conceived a vindication of his right and dominion. Yet tho' some particular busses paid for their licenses, the terms of agreement were like nails well driven, but not well clincht; so as our neighbours were not fast held, and it made them more susceptible of obstinate counsels from France, who were at that time undermining our peace by Scotland. For both France and Holland dreaded the consequence of ship-mony, which if our own Nation had perceived the good effects of, they would not, when they mett in Parliament, so eagerly have quarrelled, as they did. But to this day we bear not the scars of such contentions, but the wounds; for it was then in their power, not onely to have secured our seas, but our liberties; which accommodation neglected, hath
cost

cost us even to this day much treasure, much blood, and much dishonour, and may be yet more fatall, if so unnecessarily (as it is still) prerogative and priviledge be made a ball of contention.

During this noble Lord's regimen in the Admiralty a Navall expedition was made into the Mediterranean seas: of the severall accidents of which I shall not here stop to make any mention.

A Navall expedition toward the Mediterranean.

As the last expedition was very honorable, but remote from us; so the action we are now to mention, was too too nigh us, and as dishonorable: for it was an affront given us in our own ports. For the Spaniards, low in their estate in Flanders, in the year 1639 had equipp'd a considerable fleet of about 60 shippes, to bring mony, recruits, and other necessities for those Countries under the Spanish government. These the Holland-fleet met with under the command of their great Admirall Van-Trump with halfe their number; but being light, and fitted onely for warlike action, and he so great and good a Seaman, and the winds scant for the Spaniard's port at Dunkirk, he drave them into our road and port of Dover, where the English Royall Fleet or

The Dutch Fleet upon our coasts, afterwards.

ordinary Guard lay, under the command of Sir John Pennington, Vice-Admirall. Upon confidence of our guarding or defending our own ports, the Spaniard trifled away too much time; for both fleets being our friends, he supposed, that wee were obliged in honor to succour the weaker. But the King harassed by his own subjects, and the Admirall favouring the popular party, and having a Secretary, one Mr. Smith, highly infected with Presbyterian principles, (tho' he had no more temperance or piety, than his neighbours: which is observed onely, that Princes may consider the influence subordinate servants may have on their affairs, intrusted in the hands of their chiefe Ministers) was forced to a resolution of sending to the Spanish Admirall of not depending on the sanctuary he had taken. And Van-Trump, who too too probably understood our resolution, and being in this time strengthened by as many more fresh ships, as he had at first, even in our very ports attacked the Spaniard; which had wee bin resolute, and strengthened our fleet, as those of Holland did theirs, that Admirall would have considered twice, before he had acted once; and a true-spirited English Admirall would have reflected

Attacqueing
the Spaniards
in our ports.

reflected more on his Master's, his Nation's, and his own honor, than to be so unconcern'd, as ours was. But the sequel of this story, when we shall find this great Lord, contrary to his Prince's command, (who had so much to his honor intrusted his Navy with him) delivering it up into the hands of the Earle of Warwick, for the service of the two Houses, and not unto Sir John Pennington, as the King required, will explicate all this riddle.

If wee look back unto the year 1637, wee shall find the true reason, why his Majestie was forced so dishonourably or tamely to permit his ports to be violated in the year 1639. For before this time the Scots had totally subverted both their Ecclesiasticall and Civil goverment, and so linkt and confederated themselves with the discontented party in England, who had the same affection to a like change: that his Majestie's authority signified very little; for from the year 1633, in which his Majestie had bin in Scotland, unto the year 1637, his Majestie strongly affecting a conformity betwixt the two Churches, and desirous to pursue the same on the grounds laid before by his Royall Father; and having before him a Liturgy, designed in his Father's time for the

The rise and continuation of the Scotch tumults and rebellion.

the Scotch Nation; which Liturgy differed not much from ours: (onely it had excluded those lessons taken out of the Apocrypha, and made use of the last version of the Psalmes, and other parts of the Bible, to make it the more inoffensive; some other changes were made, as the word *Presbyter* was used instead of *Priest*, &c.) they, who resolved to reject the whole, would not be pleased with the alteration of a part; so as when about the latter end of July 1637, that this Common-Prayer-Book came to be made use of in the King's Chappell, the principall Bishops, Officers of State, Nobility, and Magistrates being present, the rabble or populacy first by noise, then by violence, sett upon the Minister, then even on the Bishop in the Pulpit, who ascended it to quiet that brutality; and afterwards, as they endangered in the streets the Bishop of Galloway, so to make the disguise less discernible, the Lord Roxborough and Traquaire are said to be pursued; but a little time pulled off this vizard. And the like riot was used in other Churches, where this Service was endeavoured to be read. The Lords of the Councell issue out Proclamation after Proclamation, seemingly to uphold the
King's

King's authority, but indeed it was to expose it: for soon after many of the Nobility, Burgeſſes, and Miniſters not onely petition, but proteſt againſt it; and as if all the ſtones had been hammered before, and the timber ſquared, they are immediately fitted to erect a new frame of Government: and like Achitophel's counſel, their firſt act is to make the breach ſo wide, that there might appear no way for reconciliation. For as it were wholly caſting off the King's ſoveraignty, they ſet up their own, by appointing (as they called it) four Tables of Councils: by which the whole Government was to be managed; and here the moſt invenomed and diſobedient refractory perſons were placed in the Chairs. And that religion might ſeem the prime care, they debate upon the Confeſſion of faith, ſubſcribed by King James and his houſhold in the year 1580, which exceeded a Nationall Confeſſion, which was made 20 years before: as likewiſe they reflected on that Confeſſion, which was made in the year 1590, which was then occaſion'd by the Duke of Lenox his coming over out of France unto King James, who finding great favour with that King, the Duke being a Roman-Catholick, the
Scots

Scots of those times then raised a new jealousie : and a necessity must further appear, to revive once again this before mentioned Covenant of 1580, and to enlarge it with that, which they called, *The great band for maintenance of the King's person and the true Religion*, and was likewise the Negative Confession, because therein they abjured the authority of the Pope, transubstantiation, &c.

The Scotch
Band or Co-
venant.

To renew all which was not now sufficient; for in this year 1637 the men of this age not only revive the Confessions of 1580 and 1590, but make the *Band or Covenant* without the leave of the King, making it so extensive, that the King himselfe was not excepted to be opposed, nor his authority further to be maintained, than in defense of the Gospell and Liberties; and then they knew, that they should be Interpreters, when he defended or offended either; and they further conjur'd or obliged by this oath each to defend the other. Thus one evil draws on another, and must be defended by another; and a first unwarrantable engagement necessitates them to enter into a second, which is more disloyall: and an unlawfull oath before God, because it seems to be made in be-

behalf of God, must pretend to supersede conscience, and discharge subjects of that duty, which they owe to Princes, and in them to God, under colour of God's cause. Episcopacy, the Canons, the Articles of Perth, the High Commission-Court, the Service-Book, and all that K. James or K. Charles had done about the Church, must now be totally overthrown, and eradicated, or there must be no peace in Israel; and to stop this current, the Marquis Hamilton is sent as Commissioner. Whether this torrent was the brutish unnatural descent of the waters of Populacy, or the artifice of the great Nobility, (among whom Hamilton had so many high and great friends) which broke the sluices and pull'd up the flood-gates of those laws, which before kept the Populacy and Presbytery in their due bounds, is a question too hard for any man of another nation to determine. For this people were too much favoured, and too politick in themselves to admit Englishmen to be counsellors and spies upon their actions in that kingdom, as some of them are of interest and power among us. So as from Q. Elisabeths time to this day they may be truly said, to have walked by a dark lanthorn, where-

whereby they saw all our affairs, and yet did move undiscerned by us in any thing they did designe.

The designe
of the pre-
tended god-
ly, but really
rebellious,
Covenanters.

And now from this time appears a scene of so much falsity and impudence, the one to deceive the people by words, which carried duty in them towards the King, and by expressions, which seemed to have no other aime, but purity of religion and publick utility; and the other humbly to supplicate, but really to force the King, to grant every thing, they had the boldnes or disloyalty to demand; that all the Addresses, or the lines, that were in their Petitions, were like those pictures, which lookt upon thro' some glasses, one way represent an Angell, and another set forth a Devill.

Former de-
ceitfull Oaths
and Cove-
nants.

It is no doubt, but such deceitfull *Oaths* and *Covenants*, as these before mentioned, had bin long before practised; for whatever is the child of a deceitfull heart, very probably hath bin the early practise of mankind. But the first time I mett with it in any considerable History was in the temptation, which false and disloyall Antigonus, one of Alexander's great Captains, used unto faithfull and loyall Eumenes, another of them, to debauch him from his loyalty to Alexander's chil-

children; for Antigonus's ambition being as large as Alexander's, he had a great mind to have dispossessed the other great Captains, and to have singly set up himselfe, and to draw over Eumenes to his party, and to have confirm'd him to himselfe by oath. But, says Sir Walter Rawleigh in his story of it, Eumenes perceiving the meaning of Antigonus, (for that the oath in a few words mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *decorum*, than upon any loyall intent, the binding words and summe of all the rest being such, as tyed him fast only to Antigonus, omitting the reservative duty unto the King, or any other of Alexander's children) rejected the same. Such difference there is between an honest and a loyall heart and a perfidious and disloyall one. And Eumenes's case, was the case of those dutifull subjects, who both in Scotland and England rather chose to suffer for and with their Prince, than joyne with the treachery of those, who were undermining his throne.

The Scotch Covenant being thus sett up among themselves and imposed upon the whole Nation; and made so penal to any, that scrupled to take it, that it could not be refused without loss of Bene-

This Cove-
was imposed
upon the
whole Na-
tion under
grievous pe-
nishments.

Benefices to the Clergy, and Offices, and Sequestrations to the Laity, the body of the whole People as it were appearing then in a commotion; the loyall and the prudent found, that they were no way able to stemm the tide, and were all quiet and in silence. This was so represented from Scotland hither unto Court, that Marquiss Hamilton is hasted away hence thither to compose differences: and thus, said some, the King sent oyl to extinguish flame.

Hamilton
sent into
Scotland, to
quiet these
tumults.

He armes himselfe with such power, that if he granted all he might do, the King's concessions were sure to weaken his Prerogative and Government; and it was managed so; that whatever he offered was rejected; and thus the King was left as devoyd of honor as power. For the King offered by Proclamation to have pardoned all they had done, but they would not receive it, but by a Parliament; and the Proclamation, offered unto this end, becomes a new grievance; for when the King expressed himselfe therein, that the fear of innovations had led them to act, as they had acted, they disown it, and say, that it was actuall innovation. The King allowes them an Assembly; here they will not admit of the Archbishops, Bishops, &c.

as

as Members of the Society, but as Criminals. The Commissioner seems enforced to dissolve them: they assume an authority to continue it, or to convoke another. And here they sit by his leave, till they had abolished Episcopacy: and then tho' they permit the Commissioner to dissolve them, confirming the Covenant, &c. yet by their own authority they order, that there shall be annuall Assemblies and Parliaments, when they should find reason.

Soon after, as the first step to open rebellion, the governing Party in Scotland make a Declaration unto all Christian Kings in justification of themselves. They write and treat particularly with the King of France, with whose great Minister, Cardinall Richelieu, they had had too long before too too straight an intelligence. And then they call home their old Commanders from abroad, viz. Lesley, Hamilton's old Friend, and divers others, and put themselves into an open posture of warr. They seize upon the castle of Edenborough, fortifie the Frith, and gett into their hands the strong castle of Dunbritton.

Their rebellion open, and rampant.

The King now resolves to reduce them by Arms; nominates for Generall the Earle of Arundell, Earle Marshall, a noble,

The King's army raised in England, to quell the rebell-Scots. Earle of Arundell Generall.

Earle of Essex
Lieutenant-Generall.

noble, and loyall, and knowing Person, and of an high-born family, but neither of a warlike disposition nor experience: a Romanist, (but not so declared) and so not over-zealous to set up a Liturgy in Scotland, and one, whom Vane had a great and a long interest in. And the King appoints the Earle of Essex his Lieutenant-Generall, who was no ill soldier himselfe, and valued much among the men of that profession: a man formerly much disoblighd at Court: and of such a naturall confused spirit, that he was not able to discern the ill consequences of his indifferency to the Crown. Nor was the Court artificiall enough to make that right use of him, which his interest among the soldiery and his blunt plain English nature might have bin formed into by a seeming confidence in him. And some fresh small disobligements in this expedition made him afterwards susceptible of very ill impressions, which he took in this employment: and evidenc'd the same, when so fatally to himselfe and the Crown, he received the Commission of being Generall of the rebellious Army raised by the long Parliament against their Sovereign. The Earle of Holland was made Generall of the English horse, a man fitter for a shew, than

Earle of Hol-
land.

than a field: he was a younger brother of the Earle of Warwick, (a popular man, and a person disaffected to the Church) and so was another Brother, the Earle of Newport, (a very weak and faithless person) who had likewise a command in his Army.

Earle of
Newport.

To make up this scene the more compleat, Hamilton must be a distinct Generall both by sea and land, and with a good fleet must block up the Scotch seas; and to my knowledge he promised so to visit his Country-men on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security in their habitations. For he had three good English Regiments on board him: but the very choise of his ships shewed, he had more mind to make warr upon the King's treasure, than on his own Country or Country-men: for he had chosen some of the second and third rate; whereas the least frigats would have done the greatest service: thus by the very bulk of his ships obliging himselfe to an inactivity. One might well have expected, that he that had so prodigally, as a Commissioner, lavish'd his Majestie's honor, and un-dermin'd the government, would have vigorously employed those forces under his command to have restored both, and

Hamilton a
distinct Ge-
nerall both
by sea and
land.

that a man of his importance would have found some party ready to have countenanc'd and assisted him : but instead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the Frith, his Mother (a violent-spirited Lady, and a deep Presbyteresse) comes on board him; and surely she had no hard task to charm him. Afterwards the great ships, like the great formidable logg let down to be a King, lying still, he had several visits from many of the great men, who were most active against the King; as if he had been rather return'd from an East-India voyage, than come as a powerfull enemy. And my Lord Southesk began to chaffer with him for some of his wares: and asked him what propositions he had to make; so as they looked on him rather suing for a peace, than making a warr. But when the Stork Cromwell was sent to subdue and govern this disloyall people, his ships were lighter, but his armes heavier. He takes in the Frith, afterwards runs up with his ships unto Innerness, or those parts, and cuts off all communication betwixt the north and south of Scotland; insomuch as he forced our present King Charles the second, afterwards defeated at Worcester, rather to march into England upon necessity than choise. Had
the

the Marquiss had the same zeal to his Master's service, as Cromwel had, he had as fair a designe by aiding Marquiss Huntley, an honorable and truly loyall person, who was then raising in the North considerable forces for his Majesty's service. So as that which the English Navy in Cromwel's time stopt; this great Lord might have brought down to his Majesties aid, if he had pleased, or diverted those pretended forces, which Hamilton by his sluggish anchoring in the Frith alleadged he did. For in reality and truth the King's army was more powerfull and better provided by much, than were the Scots in their greatest body: but where fate hath determined, every thing conspires to hasten a ruine, and the English must play their parts as faint-heartedly, and probably as falsely, in one great man, as it had in another.

Great faileurs
of Hamilton,
in point of
fidelity and
conduct.

and

For the Earle of Holland, the ill-chosen Generall of the English horse, was appointed with the flower of that body, to face the Scotch army, whose horse were inconsiderable, and whose foot were ill-appointed and very numerous. So as the country being in a good measure open, the English horse being fresh, vigorous, well-appointed, and in the generality forward to serve the King,

in the Earle
of Holland.

and maintain the honor of their Nation: he without trying the metall of either side makes a retreat, which he was sure he could have done, when he would, after he had given but a good ruffle to some part of the Scotch forces. Thus the English credit sunk down, and the Scotch rose; and Hamilton, lest he should appear too much an unactive person or faineant, and that he might clear his ships of their cramb'd number, had sent away two of his regiments to secure the Holy Island, a place of import enough, but not in that conjuncture. Had he sent all his land-forces to strengthen the King's army with a counsel to have fought his Country-men, it had favoured more of loyalty and courage.

The Pacification.

The very abovementioned Memoires shew, that he brought on the Pacification; for he proposed, before he came, that some of the Covenanters might attend his Majestie in his Camp in order thereunto; yea and that he himselfe might quit his Navy, and come and attend his Majestie. And for all this, Sir Henry Vane, the interloping Secretary, was a most proper instrument; for thro' his hands all the trifling intelligence, which Hamilton had given to amuse the King both of his own and the Scots proceedings, had passed;

passed, and those answers, which the King wrote not with his own hand, passed Vane's: (who God knows was an ordinary Pen-man) but his letters still had some mark of the King's, that in the future they might not be disown'd. For all which thanks were given to Hamilton for these services, by which he had brought the King into a seeming necessity of this Pacification. All this while, fighting English-hearted Earle of Essex lay unemployed, who would have given a better account of our Horse, had he commanded them, as did the Earle of Holland; for he with a commanded party marched up, and uninterruptedly garrison'd Barwick, tho' the Scots lay then at Duns not far off. But our good King being not sufficiently resolute to hazard, and seeing his affaires thro' no better a medium of light, than those great Officers of his army, which wee have before described, it is no marvell, after Hamilton was come to the Camp, that the dishonorable Pacification soon ensued. For indeed the King personally appearing no more concern'd for his own Regall authority; and being then attended by my Lord Say, Brook, Wharton, and other Presbyterian and Independent spirits, who were commanded to attend upon the

person of the King in this warr, that they might do no mischief at home in his absence, they did much more here: for being askt by the King, what they thought of the actions of the Scots, they took a liberty of justifying them by not censuring them: for they replied, they knew not what they had done. When the King told them, how they had seiz'd his castles, &c. they still replied, that they knew not the constitution of that Government; so could not judge them. Upon which the King committed them, but that rais'd their credit, more than abated their liberty. Thus we see, by what hands the root of this dishonorable Pacification was planted; and the fruit of it was, that all that Hamilton before, as a Commissioner had done, was now confirmed, and a promise made, that the Ecclesiastical affaires should be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and their matters Civil by the Parliament: and then they promise in all things to carry themselves like humble and faithful subjects. And (to shew, how little they were like to observe their Pacification) tho' they disband the main body of the army, yet they keep their chiefe Commanders in pay; and tho' they render up the Castle of Edenborough, yet they

they will not let the King's Commander repair even breaches of the old wall or fortifications: much less erect new. Nay to shew, what expositions they would make of some of the Articles, just upon his parting, even when he was on horse-back, they foist into the hand of the Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of his Majestie's Houshold, (a man then of good affections, tho' afterwards he grossly fell, but of no greater intellect, than courage) a scandalous paper, which shewed, how little they were like to observe their Articles.

But meeting presently after in Parliament, where the Earle of Traquair is made the King's Commissioner, of whom wee may say, he was the most versatile man in Scotland; for I had the honour to know him well, and converse him often. Under him they attempt no less changes in the constitution of the Parliament, than they had before in the Regall and Episcopall government: for now the former rebellious and contumacious spirit seems rather heighten'd by successes, than abated by condescensions and impolitick concessions: and therefore the ancient and usefull usage of the Lords of the Articles, who prepared Bills for the Parliament, and which for hundreds of years

Another Parliament in Scotland.

years before had bin practised, and other subverting things of this nature, were to be called and laid aside: whereby there was imposed a necessity on the King either to have given them their swinge for a time, and to have waited for an opportunity to reclaim them, or expect, whether they would invade him, or whether he should forthwith, with a more powerfull army, and with steddier resolution than his former, attempt them.

Strafford sent
for into Eng-
land.

And now, as if the oracle at Delphos had bin to be consulted, the great Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was to be sent for; but instead of being made a *Dictator*, he is made but one of the *Triumviri*: and the consult of this great affair chiefly henceforward depends on the Archbishop, the Marquis, and himselfe. This wasevidence enough, that Hamilton (as the Memoires paint him out) was esteemed by his Master rather unfortunate than treacherous, and lay undiscerned to those two great Englishmen: else surely they would never have incorporated with him; so as we may say, that these two had neither well consulted the state of Scotland, nor that of England. For the Archbishop being reingaged, most men looked on it again,

as an Ecclesiastick expedition; and Hamilton reemployed, they expected, that in the same man would be found the same heart; and the Earle of Strafford being freshly come in, most men both envied his greatness, and feared his prosperity. The Scots seemingly startle at all this, and but seemingly; for they knew, whom they had about the King. For Hamilton had got leave to hold intelligence under pretense of his Majestie's service with some of the cheife Covenanters; and the Lord Lowdon among other Commissioners coming up with a Petition, upon pretense of diverting the storme, (for they had sent up a Petition, that they might be admitted to petition) which the King replied was very unnecessary; since every private subject had that free leave, much more a kingdom. But here the Commissioners insisting upon unreasonable demands, the King exprest, how unlike it was their intentions were good, when they sent him such a man, as Lowdon, who at that time had wrote to the King of France under his own hand, (which was produced against him) to favour their proceedings. Whereupon he was committed to the Tower: but by Hamilton's artifice and means (in respect Lowdon was a Commissioner) he was soon after freed.

Thus

Lowdon, one of the Scotch Commissioners, put into the Tower, and soon after freed.

Cardinall
Richelieu
embroyles
Scotland.

Hamilton ac-
cused for
holding in-
telligence
with the
Covenanters.

Thus the wise French Cardinall Richelieu embroyles us; and in the meantime made his advantages on Spain and Flanders; which interest all that time our King endeavoured equally to balance. For the Cardinall's Chaplain, a Scotch-man, was known to be often among the Confederates: nay and Hamilton's Chaplain to be often with him and others. The intelligence, which Hamilton by permission of the King held with the Confederates, afterwards rose to that heighth, that Traquair himselve, without naming Hamilton, offered to prove by as good men, as any were in Scotland, how grossly by one of the Junto his Majestie's Councils were betrayed, (if advertising them, what the King intended, before the King had made his owne dispatch, and directing them what to answer, were betraying council.) Herein I was made an instrument; but did never name Traquair; but neither Strafford nor the Archbishop would entertain the accusation; because it was proposed upon no less conditions, than that when the great mens names were made known, that would make good this accusation, Hamilton should be sequestred from the King's person, and not lye in his Bed-chamber, as he did, when the Lord

Mackay

Mackay accused his Agents. But our two English great Lords were apprehensive, that this was but a trick to make a breach between them and Hamilton, by too readily entertaining a jealousy of him, and therefore rejected it.

One thing more did really give a disturbance to Strafford; for the Queen by her too too powerfull influence, upon pretense, that old Secretary Cook, superannuated, was grown unactive, had removed him, and brought in Sir Henry Vane to be Secretary, whom Strafford not onely distasted, but despised, and Vane could never forgive Strafford for taking the title of Raby, which was then his seat or habitation, purchased from the Crown, and consequently his ambition; but by descent or blood the other had the fairer pretense. With this untempered mortar the poor King was to build in a most stormy season; for Vane being now Secretary, and consequently a Member of the Junto-Councill, and a creature of the Queen's, and a confident both of Marquiss Hamilton's and of the Earle of Northumberland's, and a man of no clear head, but a bustling subtil forward Courtier in affaires of this magnitude: it is no marvell, that when the counsel of the Earle of Strafford mention'd the

new-

Sir Henry
Vane made
Secretary.

new-raised army in Ireland, as a means to reduce the disaffected Scots, this undistinguishing head or negligent hand of the new Secretary, who ought not to have taken notes of discourses, but results of Council, applied that to the kingdom of England, which was and could not otherwise be applicable singly, than unto Scotland, as all the rest of the Junto upon oath afterwards asserted; and yet this was made the great article of treason against Strafford. So dangerous a thing it is for a Prince, that is not both inwardly revered and generally fear'd, to have a body of Council made up of disagreeing members. To do the Earle of Strafford right, he had as wisely projected all things for carrying on a warr, as so hasty a resolution could be backt with; but he soon found the Scotch proverb true, *Chalk is not scissers*; for if any part of his projection fail'd, the rest tumbled down. Before he left Ireland, he was warranted to call a Parliament there, and by it he found means, (besides the standing army of that Kingdom) to raise a flying one of about 8000 horse and foot, that he might awe the Scots; they being to be transported upon them, as opportunity or occasion might be ministred. When he came over hither,
his

his first projection was, to raise money to raise an army; and his second, that a Parliament might be called to give money to maintain this body; for he supposed all men, well-affection'd unto, and sensible of the King or Kingdom's honor, nay of both their securities, when France was perceived abetting a Scotch Rebellion, would be of the like zeal with himselfe, not considering, how many misaffected English there were, even in the Court, and that the same great men, who miscarried in the designe in a former summer, were not like to promote his successes in a succeeding. So dangerous it is for one great man to take up the lost game of another. Wee had a fatal experience of it not many years since in our Navall engagement with the Dutch; for the Soldiery, at least Commanders, being to be reemployed, they are too likely to be found dividing themselves into factions.

However the design being laid open by his Majestie in Council, and the Lord Lieutenant on the one hand, and the Lord Traquair on the other haranguing upon it, and expressing the injustices of the Covenanters, their violations of laws, and subversion of government, with the ill consequences thereof, even unto
this

A new army raised in England to march against the Scots.

this Kingdom; (both these great men being great Orators, but I was told, the Scot was the more concise and significant) the Lords of the Council to give testimony of their own duty, and to give examples to others, subscribed every one to lend the King a considerable summe; the Archbishop 10000 *l.* the Keeper as much, and the Duke of Lennox from the sincerity of his nature to his Master's service, his sonship to the Church, and his detestation of a rebellion, unexpectedly (for he was not beforehand in his fortune) offered 40000 *l.* (which my self taking notice of to him, and being in some good measure well acquainted with the posture of his affairs at Court, I remember, he smilingly replied, *I will serve the King in his person, tho' I carry but his cloak, as well and as cheerfully, as any in the greatest trust*: reflecting on Hamilton) the Lord Lieutenant lent 20000 *l.* the Lord Treasurer 10000 *l.* and so it went thro' the Board, none lending there less than 5000 *l.* and the Farmers as considerably advance their rents, and many private Officers and Gentlemen brought in their proportions. And indeed the Lord Treasurer's credit, (the revenue being not anticipated) with all those, supplied the place of the
present

present Bankers, whose proper appellations were then Brokers, not Bankers, by depending on a just repayment, made most mens loans easy, because the reimbursement was supposed certaine. And tho' times like a torrent soon brake in upon all those, who were well-affected to the King's service and the constituted Government; yet most of the lenders to this warr were repayed, and those that were unpaid, were repaid by his present Majesty; which is a cleer evidence, that stopping his Exchequer upon his own debts was no part of his nature, who had opened it for his Father's.

Materialls being now provided, Officers Generall Officers. for the army are to be agreed on, and that was principally the province of the Lord Generall, the Earle of Northumberland, and the Earle of Strafford is Lieutenant-Generall; and here they stumble at the threshold; for they agree upon the Lord Viscount Conway, (a great Confident of the Generalls) a man of Epicurean principles, and a great devourer of books and good cheer, and who lay under some reflexion since the action at the Isle of Rhe, to be Generall of the Horse. The rest of the chosen military men, as Wilmot, and Goring, and Ashburnham, and Oneal, &c. were merry

L

Lads,

Lads, and none of them good willers to Strafford, but more the Lord Holland's dependents, a greater man on the Queens side, than his, which made them so forward towards him.

English Par-
liament in
1640.

And now an Army being levied, and Officers appointed to head them, and some mony raised to maintaine them, and the time come for the English Parliament to meet, his Majestie acquaints them with the present state of his affairs, and gives them the usuall assurances and gracious promises, which are commonly made upon such occasions; and tells them, he expects from them supplies, suitable to the necessities of his engagements and present condition. And here if the Court had bin true to it selfe, this Senate was so well compos'd, that the major part assuredly were well enclined to have made a right understanding betwixt King and Parliament: which was as much the aime of Strafford, as was the satisfaction of his other ambitions at Court.

Dissolution
of the Par-
ament.

But the most active and disaffected Members of this House of Commons, enabled by Vane to affright the more sincere with the Irish army, and with the ill consequences of successes against the Scot, and Vane proposing, the

King

King, who was willing to lay down for ever the Crown's claim to ship-mony, (which was so legally determined in his behalfe) to have no less in lieu thereof, than twelve subsidies, (tho' it is said, he had Commission to have fallen to six, which he us'd not.) put a generall dampe amongst them. However this would not have amounted to a million of mony; and which was afterward an ordinary illegall annuall tax imposed, by the same leading men in this Parliament, in the next Parliament to maintain a rebellion against their Prince. So as wee see their tendernes proceeded not from the care of the people, but from their stubbornes towards, and resolution to restraine and reduce the authority of the Crown. And with these artifices it is said, they so inclined the major part of the House, that they were ready to address to the King to let fall the Scotch warr, which the Court impatient of, tho' they mett but on the third of Aprill, resolved to dissolve them, and on the fourth of May 1640 accordingly they were dissolved; and soon after the Earle of Northumberland upon pretense of indisposition of health, (who had Vane more for his Confident, than Strafford, and whose credit (had he bin hearty to the

service) would have bin of great use, not onely to have tempered, but to have fixed the late House of Parliament) lays down his Generallship. Had he done the like for his Admirallship, he had serv'd the King indeed; for this quitting his Commission was so sudden, that neither the King, who took upon him to be Generalissimo, nor the Earle of Strafford, who then in effect would have bin Generall, had sufficient time (dispatching here the affairs, that were necessary for the army) to get up to them, before the Scotch army were under march, (under pretense of delivering a petition to his Majestie) and ready to enter into England; nor do they appear to have considered, whether in this fermenting state the Lord Conway's zeal would sufficiently steel him (Northumberland being withdrawn) with an English valour, to beat back the Scots, who now resolutely advance, and had sent to Conway to have leave to come and deliver a petition to his Majestie: who replied, they might do it with a few persons; but upon their approach about August, he guarding a passe at Newborn with a party onely of 3000 foot and 1200 horse, the rest of the English army being with Sir Jacob Ashley at Newcastle: (which

Scots enter
England.

(which place to take in was the designe of the Scots, and Conway here beaten from his post, and Newcastle not tenable) the army march back toward York, and Conway with his beaten troops soon joyn'd them. He looks not far into the millstone, that discerns not, that an English confederacy can inspirit a Scotch army; and that when the English please to fight in a field, as they did at Marstonmoor, when Goring charged that body; or defend a place, as they did at Hereford, when the Scots singly attacqued it; or fight a battell, as they did at Dunbarr, in the Scots own country, but they can exercise their usuall and old valour upon that Nation; with whom being now in conjunction and under one Sovereign, it had bin much better, they had both strove to shew their loyalties, than their courages upon one another. And now there is no place left for further paraphrasing on this subject, but what may be expressed by interjections or condolment, or with the Prophet to say, *Ab Lord!* for things thus advanced, to shew their confederacy, all sides of the nett are drawne at once, and Petitions from the great Lords of England, from the City of London, from the Scotch Commissioners and Army, and from what not, incircle the King at York,

and all for another Parliament, and Strafford's wisdom seems amated. For, as a good Historian sayes, *Great improsperties deprive a man of halfe his understanding at once*: which might appear now, in that he gave way, that this Parliament, which was to quiet a Scotch invasion, should be held at London, and that he in a confidence of his own innocence, being then the mark shott at by all-powerfull envy, should rather choose to answer for himselfe in such an Assembly, than to endeavour to make more steddly unto the King's interest the English army, and to leave that under his Majestie's own guidance, and retire himselfe into Ireland; where he had a competently numerous, well disciplined, and faithfull army to his Majestie's person and government and to himselfe. But henceforward wee are to look upon a new scene, and that so often varied, that with great Porus the Indian King, then captive to Alexander, wee may smile to think, how fraile the felicity of mankind is, or, *quam caduca sit felicitas humana*.

Treaty at
Rippon

The King being at York, called his great Council thither. A Treaty is held at Rippon betwixt the English Peers and some Scotch Commissioners: and there a cessation of armes is agreed on,
and

and quarters and contributions assigned unto both armies: and to shew the good intelligence between them, the Scots make new professions of their loyalty to the King, and of their brotherly kindnes to the English Nation; but with- all declare, they will not lay down their armes, untill the reformed Religion was fetled in both Nations, *i. e.* untill the Church of England was conformed unto the Kirk in Scotland. And this seems their province thro' the remainder of this story, as the change of the civill Government seems to be left unto their dear confederating English Brethren. And now both Parties chime for a Parliament. Twelve of our great men, *viz.* the Earles of Bedford, Hartford, Essex, Warwick, Mulgrave, Bullingbrook, Bristol, and the Lord Say, Brook, Pagett, Mandevill, and Lord Edward Howard of Escrick, representing the ill state of the Kingdom, had petitioned for a Parliament. The Scots do the like; for wee must seem to be beholding unto a Scotch army for an English Parliament; and the City of London are as forward with their petition, as any of the rest; but the King gave them all one answer, that they had desired nothing, but what he had resolved on before. Whilst he staid

at York, the Earle of Montros, tho' then eminently engaged in the Scotch army, having written a dutifull letter onely unto the King, with generall expressions of loyalty and good affection; such faithfull attendants the King had about him, that the substance of it by one of his Countrymen was soon sent back to Lesley, the Scotch Generall, who challenging Montros with holding intelligence with the Enemy, he undauntedly own'd it; asking, who it was, that would reckon the King an Enemy; and with this bravery quash'd this charge. How improbable an account of the discovery hereof the Memoires give, may be there read.

Scotch Commissioners at London.

The King retires to London, and Scotch Commissioners are sent up thither, and they, both by the Parliament and City, are lookt upon as Angells of light; and they frequent the Congregations of the cheife dissenting Presbyters, who from all quarters of the kingdom flow up to this City: as if they were to convert an unsanctified heathen Nation; and Timothy and Titus are upon all occasions proved not to have bin Bishops, as a distinct order from Presbyters; and the rites of the Church of no better appellation, than superstitious; and the bowing at the name of *Jesus* hath a book written against

against it with no less title, than *Jesus-worship confuted*; so as if a Mahometan had heard it cryed in the streets to be sold, as it was, (as I heard a Gentleman say passing by) surely he might justly have thought, this Nation at that time was denying their Saviour.

The third of November 1640, the deplorable and dismall Parliament mett; and their meeting was evidence enough to shew, that those Councils, which should assist and obey, and which cast off subordination, and will rule and prescribe laws, are as certain a means to destroy a nation, as in the regularity of their constitution they are a hopefull means to settle it. They had now no restraint upon them; and therefore soon like a deluge, they overflow and sweep away all that broke their current.

The long Parliament.

The Scotch Commissioners and the great pretending Patriots in both Houses make it their first resolution to accuse the Earle of Strafford, that so wise a man might be removed from the King, and all others intimidated. And that they might make way to do it home, (for I would put all this busines together, tho' I break the series of time) they first vote a close Committee, which was opposed by divers, and much stomackt at by an old Factioner, who

The Lord Strafford accused.

A close Committee.

who was then my Neighbour in Westminster, Sir Peter Haman of Kent; alledging, that was to make the rest of the Members see by other mens eyes. I remember I laught at him, to put him in mind of his own former proceedings: (for he was one of the men, that kept the Speaker in his chair) and I said, *Every Parliament must out-pitch the other by a barr.*

Strafford accused of high treason by the Commons.

This being previous unto the Earle's accusation, Mr. Pym the next day after the Earle was come to town, (for the Parliament had sat some few dayes before he came) in the name of the Commons now assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of England, accuses the Earle unto the House of Lords of high treason, saying, that within few dayes they would resort to their Lordships with particular Articles; and the busines was so well laid, that the Lords not reflecting, how it might concern themselves or their own posterities in the future, upon this generall accusation put the Earle into a state of a Malefactor, *i. e.* committed him as a prisoner to the Black-Rod, who otherwise could have given good bayl or security for his appearance and answering the charge. But this removall is pretended as a right due

due to an accusation flowing from a House of Commons. Nay the Lords are so forward to promote this accusation, that the Commons prevaile upon them to examine witnesses upon oath against the Earle of Strafford, even before a particular accusation was brought in against him; which is (as hath bin said before) trayling for an hare, or accusing a man first, and then finding particulars to ground it on. And since this was an accusation of high treason, it was as

Impeached
and tryed
before the
Lords.

tryable by indictment in the inferior Courts, as by impeachment before the Lords; but as there was need of Judges, who could assume arbitrary power, and not be questioned for it. And indeed in this case arbitrary power was highly made use of; for the whole cause upon the impeachment was heard at length, and articles of superfoetation, or additional articles admitted; and when the witnesses and their proofs in this case were openly read, before the sworne Judges of the Land, (who onely sit in that House, as assistants to the Lords) yet when sentence was ready to be given, that whole judiciaall proceeding was let drop, and a legislative one taken up; and upon the Bill of Attainder, which charged this Earle with treason, a case

Afterwards

attainted by
Bill.

was

was framed, not from the proofs and witnesses of the first impeachment, but from the apprehensions and judgement of the fact, made by the Lords, and the Lords being not tyed to frame a case from the proofs made against this great man, they had little skill, if they could not form one, that the Judges must be necessitated to agree was treason. And thus what is arbitrary and tyrannicall in a Prince, must be accounted legall and formall proceedings in a great Councill; and *Magna Charta* and the Petition of Right, which are bulwarks against the Sovereign, must be of no shelter against fellow-subjects. Which puts me in mind of (as he called it) a legacy of Sir Robert Holborn's, that loyall and great Lawyer, unto the King, who, when the King was in the Isle of Wight, a very little time before he was seized on, sent him in a paper this advice, (which paper I had the custody of) that he was sorry his Majestie was in that condition; but for himselfe, he was at that time dying; and therefore as a last legacy he would give his Majestie this advice: If ever he came unto an agreement with the two Houses, that in behalfe of the Crown, and of the subjects in generall, he would make it an article, that the two Houses
should

should be as well sworne to maintaine or ground their proceedings upon or by the laws in being of the Kingdom, until new ones repealed or varied those laws, as the Kings were sworne unto them at their coronation. These generalls may suffice to lead us into this great man's tryall.

The particular articles against him were many, and for my design too long to be set down, and are to be found in those, that write the History of that time; which agrees not with my Compendium. But the cheife were these:

Proceeding
by impeach-
ment upon
severall arti-
cles.

That as President of the Council in the North, he had said, that some of the Justices of that Country were all for law: but they should find, that the King's little finger should be heavier, than the loyns of the law: but this proved a pure inversion of his words; shewing, that the little finger of the penall Laws, if prest on them by the King, would be heavier, than the loyns of the Prerogative.

That in derogation of his Majestie's good government, and to disaffect that People, he had said, Ireland was a conquer'd Nation, and his Majestie might do with them, what he pleased: and, That the Charters granted unto Dublin
or

or any other Corporation, bound the King no longer, than he pleased.

That by a Council of Warr he had passed sentence of death upon the Lord Viscount Mountnorris, Vicetreasurer of Ireland. Of how little import these last charges were, may appear by his answer. Indeed in that of Mountnorris's busines there was much of stomach and tumor, or perchance indiscretion, but little of blood. He was further charged,

That he had levied upon the inhabitants of severall towns, and upon other persons, monies by troops of soldiers and force of armes. But all this is proved to have bin no more, than what his Predecessors had exercised before; and even one of his then Accusers at the barr, the Earle of Corke, who had bin one of the Justices of that Realm, had practised. It being onely used, when the Irish would absent themselves from their homes, and not answer unto or obey the justice and sentences of the Judiciall Courts.

But to consummate all, comes in the charge, extracted out of Sir Henry Vane's blotted and blundering paper, which accused him to have said,

The fatall,
but false, ar-
ticle, which
tooke away
his life.

That the Irish army should reduce the English Nation: which (as hath bin before exprest) related unto the Scotch
Rebells

Rebells onely. And to sift out this article, (that this Lord might have no sanctuary any where) the King was moved, and had granted, that even his Junto-Counsellors might be examined about it; and upon the examination the Lord-Treasurer Juxon, the Lord Northumberland, the Lord Cottington, and the rest, all upon oath denyed it. And when this was perceived, knowing the other infirmities, which attended this prooffe in the way of Vane's swearing this article, and that it depended upon a single witness; yet then (tho' they sufficiently knew, how apt the major part of the Lords were to condemn him) fearing, there was not prooffe enough to lead them to it, they resolv'd, *quocunque modo rem*; that by one means or other they would be sure to bring him to his end. And hereupon they declin'd the Impeachment, and fall upon a resolution of proceeding against him by Bill: for by this means they become themselves as much his Judges, as the Lords: so that what the laws in being could not reach unto, *viz.* his life, a new law must lay hold on. And thus a man must dye for that, which at that time was not capitall: the ill consequence of which Precedent they knew so well, that they were forc'd to stigmatize
their

their own Bill with a proviso, that *This judgment should not for the future be drawn any more into example.* And the Lords, who could not in honour condemn him by the laws in being upon the Impeachment before them, were like to be tempted with the honor of having a legislative power of ridding themselves of a man, they so little loved, and so much feared; and this way would involve the King as deep in the guilt, as either of them. All which led them to make this change in the way of their proceeding against him.

Proceeding
by Bill.

This Bill had great agitation in the House of Commons, and was much oppos'd; and the tumults without were upon many more prevalent and rhetorickal, than the arguments within. And tho' many Members thereupon withdrew themselves from the House, that afternoon it was put to the question; (for it was an afternoon's work) yet when it was just ready for the question, the Lord Digby gave the account, why he would not give his affirmative thereunto; *Which (says he) whilst I was a Prosecutor by law, and others to be Judges, I thought my self bound not to discover; but now I am Judge my selfe, I am bound to declare, because my dissatisfactions are grounded upon it.* And
accord-

accordingly I here assert, that upon the first examination of Sir Henry Vane himselfe in the close Committee, he positively said, he could not charge him therewith; and upon a second examination doubtfully repeated it, saying to the best of his remembrance, he said it not; when at the same time unto another article he could affirme he did it: but upon a third examination upon sight of his own paper or note, pretended to be taken or stolen out of his cabinet by his son, young Sir Henry Vane, he did affirm, that he heard the Earle of Strafford say to the King, Sir, you have an army, you may employ to reduce this Kingdom. Now, says the Lord Digby, consider, whether any man can proceed upon another man's life upon the difference of one letter, viz. whether the word was here or there, this or that; especially on the testimony of a Gentleman, who twice before upon oath had denyed the same. But the question being put, the major part of the House of Commons passed the Bill; for there were but fifty six, who voted against it; and the names of these were posted up in many places of London and Westminster, to draw them into obloquy and further danger: of which malignant number I was one. Many artifices and tumults are likewise

M used

used in and towards the House of Lords to passe the same; and the King by a speech and letter endeavoured to divert it: but he that ought to command, seldom gets any thing, when he is reduced into a condition to supplicate. And thus, this great man was proceeded against, suitable to Mr. Saint-John's argument, not like a beast of chase, to whom men give law, but like a fox or wolfe, knockt in the head, wheresoever found, or a pol-cat caught in a trapp laid for him. But when he came to dye, as he charitably forgave all persons, so he prophetically said, *He could not augure well of that Reformation, which was thus laid in blood.* And when the news of his death came unto Cardinal Richelieu, who had had too great an hand in it, he said, *The English Nation were so foolish, that they would not let the wisest head among them stand upon its own shoulders.*

The King induced to signe and pass the Bill: which troubled him ever after.

And now wee may make this further reflexion upon the King's part in this Tragedy, that tho' the Earle himselfe, by letter unto his Majestie, acquitted him of his death, as an action forced upon him, and that some Bishops, who were sent unto him, (whereof Juxon was one of the number, but not of the opinion) had framed their divinity to the necessity, and

and that better *unus quam unitas*, or that one, than the multitude should perish; yet it is notoriously known, how great a weight and disturbance this single act gave unto the good King, even unto his end. And this may teach Princes, how impolitick it is, when they find themselves in hazard, to think to divert the danger by not hazarding. Which certainly this King had done, had not false Counsellors and Councells so prevailed on the Queen's fears, that in respect of her safety and his Children's, he quitted his own resolutions. For had the King resolutely (as he might by all the before mentioned circumstances reasonably and conscientiously have done) denied his assent to this Bill, he had never been importuned with those unreasonable demands, which from day to day the Houses after made unto him; for every unreasonable demand, if obtain'd, brings a guilt on the Demander; and every addition of guilt brings with it a fear, and every fear is restless, untill the injured person be devoyd of all power, either to recover his right, or revenge his injury.

And to shew, how mad this whole People were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish City; (London)

Mad triumphs of the misled people upon the death of Strafford.

in the evening of the day, wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy, that possibly could be exprest, rann thro' the whole Town and Countreies hereabout; and many, that came up to Town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, waving their hatts, and with all expressions of joy, thro' every Town they went crying, *His head is off, his head is off!* and in many places committing insolencies upon, and breaking the windows of those persons, who would not solemnize this Festival with a bonfire. So ignorant and brutish is a multitude.

And now, tho' other matters should more naturally succeed, yet because wee may couple these two great men together, whose fates were alike, (and yet the last had the fowler play; for the one dyed by an Act of Parliament, which in tempestuous times had bin precedented; but the other by an Ordinance of the two Houses of Parliament, which in the worst of times was never found out) wee will now sett down what befell that reverend Prelate, Archbishop Laud.

Archbishop
Laud's im-
peachment.

His character hath bin given already and without all doubt, his designe was no more, than to preserve the Church
upon

upon the foundation of Scripturall institutions and Primitive practice : which was the great designe of the Reformation of this Church. His error was, (because he found the King by his Father, K. James, fully instructed in that knowledge, and carefully warned of the designs of the Presbyterians to subvert the same; and because he himselfe fixed the King in it; and observed in him as much affection as knowledge towards the maintenance thereof) that he considered not the unreasonableness of the times, and that the jealousy of too many honest and well-minded men had made way for, and promoted the designs of the Factious. Not long therefore after the Earle of Strafford's being committed to the Tower, this Prelate upon a generall charge of constructive treason, or endeavouring to subvert the laws and the religion of the Nation, is impeached at the Lords Barr, and committed unto the Black-Rod, and not long after sent unto the Tower, to cohabit, (but not to keep company) with the Earle of Strafford.

Being there, that he might see, what measure of justice he was like to meet with, and that the world might see the nature of his flagitious crimes, the first attack, which was made upon him, was

His imprisonment in the Tower.

an accusation, that he had called unto the High-Commission Court an honourable and a worthy Member of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Howard, son to the Earle of Suffolk, for having notoriously and scandalously (in that age, tho' it would not seem so in ours) lived in a state of adultery and incontinence with the Lady Purbeck, wife to the brother of the late Duke of Buckingham; and for this small fin Sir Robert was fined five hundred pounds: which fine this good Prelate by the exact justice of the House of Commons was sentenced singly to repay; and to save the distress upon his goods, this good man, who before had spent much of his estate in publick buildings and works, to my knowledge was faine to borrow mony to make this payment.

After this for some years he lay quiet, if a man under such an imprisonment, and in such company, and under such guards, with such reflexions, as he must needs have, could lye quiet: for I remember, I my self waited on him in the Tower, in order to the payment of this fine: and I found him reading Galen *de usu partium*, and in a very calme temper, and rejoycing, that so learned a man, who was so addicted to assign all unto nature, should

should, by the admirable structure of a man, be so much convinced of the God of nature; and telling him, how glad I was, that in such a storm he could be awake, and have his thoughts so pacifick, he replyed to me, *'Twas a naturall effect of dependence upon Providence; but, says he, that which exercises my patience most, is, that these men force me to be present, and joyn with them in their Church-Service; where they dayly maine the Liturgy, as they please, and where they pray and preach not against me onely, but against the truth and majesty of God: but I hope, sayes he, God will season me for these and all other tryalls.* And in this state he lyes for three or four years, when things not going very prosperously with the King, and the Scots lying very heavy upon him, and the whole Party apprehending, as long as he lived, they should make less impression on the King towards their intended changes in the Church:

In the year 1644, they fell upon a formall charge of him upon his first impeachment. And to say little of the particulars, because they were so frivolous, after an eager prosecution of him by Mr. Prynne, (an hot-brain'd and halfe-learned schismaticall Lawyer) all the charge of his impeachment fell so

Charged upon his former impeachment

short, (tho' Mr. Prynne with others, under pretense of seeking for intelligence from Oxford, being sent unto him, by the Houses, searcht his pockets, and took away from him even his notes, which he had set down in order to his defence against their charge; so as they were prepossessed of what he meant to defend himselfe by) that they were forced to quitt that way, and to proceed against him by a bare ordinance of the two Houses of Parliament, which was an unheard-of and never-precedented thing.

The proceedings
against him
by an Ordinance of
Parliament.

What this word *Ordinance* signified was grown so unintelligible, that I could never meet with any, who cleerly could expound it either by good books or authority: but this on all hands was agreed on, that an Ordinance was never of universall force, but where the King concurr'd in it; and then it was esteem'd, as a law is now; and when it passed from the two Houses singly, it was onely in Parliament-time, and had no force longer, and never had force or generall influence upon the people, nor further extent, than to the two Houses. So that it was as much impudence, and imposition upon mens understandings, to have it extended unto any private man's estate, as it was injustice and cruelty to make it reach

reach unto the decapitation of this reverend and gray Head. And thus wee may see, how this body of men, who cry out against arbitrary government in a Prince, can, even to blood, remorselessly execute it by themselves. And at the passing of this Ordinance there were present onely seven Lords: the Lord Bruce was said to be of it, but was not so: whose character I here take occasion to give.

He was a Gentleman of very good understanding, and of (as I believed) a pious, but timorous and cautious, mind. I having the honor of his neighbourhood and friendship in the Country, when he interrogated me upon severall things, which passed at Oxford, I took the liberty to ask him, whether he would sell, as he bought; or give me as free leave to judge of their proceedings, as I found he had curiosity to satisfy himselfe of the true reason of ours? I remember, he frankly told me, (and this was a good time before the King's death) that with his presence, and sometimes with his vote, he had been too much assistant unto their councils, who had bin too traitorous unto their Prince; and therefore, says he, treat with me, not as a man justifying his actions, which I alwayes made as innocent, as I could, by
being

The character of the Lord Bruce.

being often absent ; (and yet am too guilty of disloyalty) or as usefull, as I could unto the King, when present, whose pardon I stand so much in need of. I remember, I replied, My Lord, if these be your thoughts concerning his Majestie and his cause, to whom I know you and your Family owe much, what peace have you within your self for that extraordinary sentence, where your name is found among so few Lords against that unfortunate Prelate, Archbishop Laud? He bad me believe him in nothing he should ever averr to me, if it were not true, that he was not present, nor concurr'd in that vote. And truly the great justice he used in concealing, and paying unto a Minister of State (then banished for his good service and loyalty to the King) Mr. Secretary Nicolas, a Gentleman of good naturall and acquir'd parts, and of an unshaken loyalty, eminent probity, perfected by a long experience in affairs, and of an indefatigable industry, an annuity of 400 *l. per ann.* with a considerable arrear, even to his own danger, when he might easily have gott it for himselfe : and the bounty he shewed unto others of great quality, as well as to the lesser of his Majestie's Adherents, and the steddy piety I observed in his whole

Secretary
Nicolas.

whole course of life, make me (without the least obligation, besides the honor of his conversation) insert this passage, as being yet so much a servant to his Family, (tho' since his death I have little frequented it) that I heartily rejoyce, he was thus farr innocent of this Prelate's righteous blood.

When sentence was given upon him, this good Archbishop, who was naturally fearfull of a violent death, was so assisted by God's grace, that he was modestly forward to undergo it; and upon the day of his execution he undauntedly marched to the scaffold, tho' he was haunted by two ill spirits, Hugh Peters and Sir John Clotworthy, all his way thither; who even upon the scaffold (like instruments of the great adversary of mankind) were disturbing him by inhumane interrogatories, when he had most need to have had his thoughts in best repose. But forgiving them and all the world besides, with great steddiness, gravity, and piety, he appear'd to make his own Funerall Sermon with less passion, than he had in former times made the like for a Friend. His speech is very well worthy the reading, and his most Christian deportment, in laying down his life, is most worthy the remembring.

And

Archbishop
Laud be-
headed.

And so we shall leave him, now removed from London, (where he was first buried) interred with his faithfull and great Friend, Archbishop Juxon, in St. John's Colledge in Oxford: to which they were both very great Benefactors.

And now, tho' we have a temptation to sett down the dismall end of the great Master of Strafford and Laud, King CHARLES I. because wee might observe, how like their fates were, tho' various their judicatures; Strafford having suffered by an Act of Parliament, Laud by an Ordinance, and this great and good King by a Vote of the House of Commons, which erected a fictitious High-Court of Justice: and to shew, how the religion and laws of this land were buried with this good Prince; (who himselve remaines rather interr'd, than buried) yet wee will now return to the unparallel'd and rebellious proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, and of their dear Brethren, the Scotts, in the year one thousand six hundred forty and one.

The policies
of the Long
Parliament.

Having begun with these two great men, they use all the means possibly they could to intimidate all those, that were not like to concurr with their designs: they disseminate discourses, how Popishly-affected our Bishops were; how
vitiating

vitiated our Universities; they give the worst characters they can of the Judges; discountenance all the grave Citizens, whom they knew good Subjects unto the King, and good Sons of the Church. They raise new dreadfull appellations of *Malignants* and *Incendiaries*; the well-affected Country-Gentlemen they awe, as subject to be questioned for somewhat by them done, either as Sheriffs in time of Ship-mony, or as Deputy-Lieutenants, whom for some pretended irregular action or other they were like to question. They seek all artifices, by injecting jealousies and fears, and by shewing them a prospect of preferment, at least of the reputation of being great Patriots of their Country. And to draw over unto their Faction the principall Members of the then present Parliament, they stigmatize all the Dependents in Court. And because there were divers Members of the House, who had had their names in illegall Patents, (an exception never in any age taken before, to disable a man from sitting in Parliament) they discard them out of the House, tho' legally chosen unto that service, and new Writs are sent to choose others into their places. They are dayly attended by the factious Clergy, whom

whom they freely admitt into their Juncto-Councils; tho' at the same time they are designing to cast out the Bishops out of the Lords House, and any of the Clergy from secular affairs; because that profession required the whole man: but they could not part with these sons of Levi, because Dathan and Corah are proper instruments to seduce the multitude, whom ere long they were to make such vile and seditious use of. And having thus traduced the Government, they undermined it; knowing, it would be in their power to blow it up, whenever they would give fire to these traines of powder. Thus popular changes are not likê stormes, which shake great oakes, and often rend from the body of the tree great arms of it: but like earthquakes, which make a generall concussion, and tear up the very root of the tree, together with the very bowells of the earth.

They vote
downe cere-
monies.

Having thus dealt with persons, they proceed to things: and every decency in the Church is set forth as a superstition, and every rule of order in the exercise of the outward worship of God is branded, as an oppression brought upon Christian liberty. In the State the very ancient Courts of Justice are represented, as the chaines of the subject's slavery. The

Starr-

Starr-Chamber, which at its first institution was a defence of the Royall Pre-rogative, and a bulwark for the liberty of the subject against the great mens oppressions, and against such perjuries and frauds, as the ordinary Courts of Justice could not meet with, must now not be reformed, but vacated and pulled down: the want whereof made Judge Hales say openly at an Assize at Cambridge, (as a Gentleman of great quality, who was then on the Bench, assured me) that he believed since the putting down of that Court, there had bin in few years more perjuries and frauds unpunished, than there had bin in an hundred years before. The High-Commission Court, which was erected 1^o. Elisab. as a preservative against Popery, and a bridle unto Presbytery and Schism, must undergo the same fate; tho' it was the terror of such scandalous sinners, as then sneakingly (but since barefacedly) have committed incest, adultery, fornication, and blasphemy. Nay the Act for putting of it down must be so drawn, (and then what was the Designer's malice, must be assigned to the providence of the Almighty) that it was pretended, it extinguisht the power of Excommunication; which was one of the great branches

the Starr-Chamber.

High Commission.

the Courts
in Wales
and in the
North.

Stannaries.

Forrests.

Ecclesiasti-
call Courts.

Earle-Mar-
shall's Court,
and hereby,

The Royall
prerogative,
and jurisdic-
tion of the
Crowne.

branches of the Christian Religion, in-
stituted by Christ himsele, and exercised
by his Apostles. The two President's-
Courts, that of Wales, and that of the
North, one was cleerly to be put down,
and the other to be made useles by in-
larging appeals. The Court of Stannaries,
which was so ancient a right of the
Dukes of Cornwall, now one of the
regalia of the Crown, and the standing
policy of governing the Miners, who
wrought that considerable staple com-
modity of tin, was now questioned and
mained; and the poor toyling tinner
exposed to the merciles usurer. And tho'
the King quitted much of his Prerogative
in his Forrest-laws; yet all they asked
must be granted, or no content given:
and the Ecclesiasticall Courts were towzed
and shaped, as they pleased: and the
Earle-Marshall's Court was made so in-
significant, as if there needed no distin-
ction of Nobility and Gentry.

Thus the suppression of Regall juris-
diction was used, as a means to draw off
the reverence due to the Crown and
publick authority, and to lodge it all in
the popular greatnes of a House of
Commons. And indeed they overthrow
all Ecclesiasticall and Civil establishments,
before they had concerted, how to frame
any

any new: or, as Mr. Cromwel (who from a very mean figure of a man in the beginning of this Parliament, rose to that prodigious greatness before the end) said to Sir Thomas Chichely and my selfe once in the House in the matters concerning Religion: *I can tell you, Sirs, what I would not have; tho' I cannot, what I would.* Thus first overturning all ancient and established Government, they project to erect such a Babel for their own securities, as they had not yet so much as designed.

But to secure themselves, they make great complaints of the discontinuance of Parliaments, and so bring in a Bill to be assured of one once in three years: for if the King failed to make this summons, then it should be an incumbent duty in the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the great Seal: if he failed, then any twelve Peers might summon a Parliament: if the Peers neglected this, then the Sheriffs and other Magistrates might do it: if they neglected it, the Freeholders had a right of choosing Members, and those Members upon penalty were to serve.

The Triennial Parliam^{ent}.

Herein the King gratified them, (whereby they seem to have arrived at a co-ordination) and they gave four
N entire

Four Subsidies for the Army.

entire Subsidies for the reliefe of his Majestie's Army in the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a cloudy expression to take off the dishonor of paying the Scotch Army; but they gave nothing to his own coffers.

✓ The English Officers designe to petition the Parliament.

The Parliament is observed to be more forward to pay the Scotch, than the English Army. But whether the ill usage the King suffered, or the sense of the Parliament's partiality towards the Scotch Army; (for they had a mind, because the mony and loans upon it came not in all at once, to have preferred the payment of the Scotch before the English; tho' the mony to them must have gone thro' or by the English quarters) or whether the Officers of the English Army were conscious they had hitherto neither considered their own, their Prince's, or their Country's honor, in the opposition they had given to the Scots upon their first march: which certainly arose from the Earle of Northumberland's either casuall sicknes or resolved deserting his command in such a point of time, as gave Strafford no leasure to cast things into a new mold; or whether remorse struck them, upon reflexion on the King's necessitated condition, to grant the two Houses whatever they de-

demanded; or whether the young tampering Favourites on the Queen's side, the two Henry's, Percy and Jermin, were trapann'd into the designe by the old subtle foxes of the Court, (for they upon the discovery were fain to fly,) who were most probably influenced by the leading men in Parliament; whether these or any of these motives were the cause of it, I know not: but at this time Wilmot, Goring, Oneale, and Ashburnham, and the rest of the Officers unadvisedly entertain a discourse to engage the English Army in a petition; the effect whereof was, that his Majestie might be free in his debates; and not necessitated to his concessions: and surely it must be unadvisedly, when the Scots had an Army to march in their rear; and that they must march towards such a city, as London: and to the displeasure of the thus prevailing two Houses, sitting there. But Goring is said to have betrayed them all, as he did; but he swore to me, (which was no great assurance) that he never revealed it, till he certainly knew, that the chiefe Members of both Houses were before acquainted with it. But another of the Gang assured me, that it was he, that gave opportunity to the silly and faithles Earle of

Newport once to set those of this Company, who met together on this subject, and which soon expounded all the rest: which led me in my own judgment, and I go no further, to beleive, (for our new Statesmen were well acquainted with the History of D'Avila) that plotts were frequently made, at least encouraged, by those, against whom they seemed to be made: and so I quitt this affair.

Protestation
of the Com-
mons and
Lords,

But however it came about, the two Houses make high use of this designe; for the House of Commons presently enter into a Protestation, which they first take themselves, and then the Lords take it: whereby they oblige themselves to maintaine and defend with their lives, power, and estate, as far as lawfully they might, the Protestant Religion against Popery or Innovation, the King's Royall Person, the priviledges of Parliament, and the lawfull rights and liberties of the subject: and because they ordered this to be taken by all other men thro' the land, as a security to them, it is made a branch, that they will defend every person, that should take this Protestation in whatsoever he should do in the lawfull pursuance of the same; and every one was to endeavour to preserve the union and peace

be-

betwixt the King's Majestie's kingdoms. And thus Protestations and Covenants are introduced in England, as well as Scotland, that the subject might not have too great veneration for the oath of Allegiance; but think themselves tyed as much to the two Houses, as to the King.

And as if this were not sufficient to secure them, they have one new demand more, (which like Abisgai's petition to David concerning Saul, asks leave but to give the KING one wound more, because it should be such a one, that there should be no need to smite him a second time) and that was, that there might be a Bill passed for the continuance of this Parliament, not to be prorogued nor adjourned, but by Act of Parliament; (and hereby they gain a temporary share in the sovereignty, as they had before a lasting co-ordination) for without this they alledged, that they should not be able to secure the money they had borrowed for the Army, nor redress grievances; and with this Bill passed that other Bill which brought the Earle of Strafford to the block.

The Act for not dissolving this Parliament without their own consent.

It is impossible to think, how so intelligent a person, as this King was, should

How the King came to pass this Act.

by any perswasions, which certainly were great on the Queen's side, or treachery, which certainly was great on the side of many of his great Courtiers, be induced thus to divest himselfe of all majestie and power; or to be so overseen, as to think, he should avoid danger, by running into the greatest hazard imaginable. But we may give the former reason for it, that wisdom often quits a man, when misfortune hath led him into extremities. But notwithstanding all these great failures and after-misfortunes, I think, before wee shall end these Memoires or Reflexions on these times, wee shall shew, his goodnes and sincerity were so well known unto his subjects, and his reputation so great among them, that it raised such a zeal in them, both in his life to defend him to the utmost, and after his death to restore his Son, that it may be truly said, living and dead, he was ever most dear to his subjects in general.

This House of Commons having thus fixt deeply their root, it is no marvel, they raise their top to that heighth, that ere long it shadowed the Lords House; and by dripping upon them in some few years caused them to be voted useles. And indeed that body of men, (who
resem-

resemble a King, if not in unity, yet in paucity, which at first they did) forgetting their own naturall station, when they withdraw themselves from the Cloth of State and dependence on the Throne, where they are placed to support it, and upon emergent occasions to skreen the Commons from any scorching greatnes of it, if they forget their duty to their Prince, and become popular themselves, it will not be long, before they be themselves subjected to the Commonalty: for it is not title, but usefull power, that draws unto itselfe the reverence of greatnes.

And now the House of Commons, who were called onely to consent, become the sole Councillors of the land. Such doctrines therefore must be now planted, as make a subversion of the old frame of Government; for the King must be no longer Head of the Three Estates, Lords Spiritual, Temporall, and Commons, or Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; whose distinct office is to temper one another, and to beget a right understanding betwixt Head and Body, King and Subject in generall: but the King must be one of the States, and the Government march under the banners of King, Lords, and Commons; which in one sense is

The King, by the necessary constitution of the government, the Head of the three Estates.

true, if the King be reckoned as Head of his Three Estates; and in another is false, if he be made one of them. And thus the Clergy must first loose their dignities or baronies, that they might afterwards loose their lands: and they must loose their species or order of men: and tho' they be God's immediate servants, yet they must be as the off-scouring of the people, as not worthy to have any persons represent them amongst those, who represent the whole body of subjects. For both Lords and Commons have, or at least ought to have, no greater title, than subjects; and it is well even for themselves, at least for their posterity, that they have no greater pretense to the sovereignty. For many heads are as unnaturall to a politick, as to a naturall body. Thus this pretense was so farr from the old constitution of the Government, that even the House of Commons themselves heretofore have prayed, that the Clergy might be present by themselves, or their Procurators, least the Acts of Parliament might be judged deficient.

The Bishops
removed
from their
seats in Par-
liament.

And now the Bishops seat in Parliament, which was as ancient, as Parliaments themselves, (and wee may say ancients, for no Saxon *Gemotes* or Councils ever

met

met without them) must be taken away; and yet Records shew, some of them had bin thro' all ages, as good instruments for the subject's liberty, and procuring even *Magna Charta*, as any of the Commons or secular Lords; the true reason whereof now was, because they were a body of men, who were not to be practised upon tumultuously in this conjuncture to innovate in Church or State. A Bill therefore is brought into the House for removing the Bishops from their seats in Parliament; and tho' it was rejected by the Lords, and so consequently could not be reassumed in the same Session; yet these Gentlemen, who so much cry up the formes and usage of Parliament, are no way restrained by them, when they curb their own desires, but revive the same Bill, and passe it in the same Session. But all this must be interpreted well in their behalves, because they are Zealots, and all other men Deserters of the subject's liberty. And it is not long, before it be attempted to overthrow even their Order it selfe, which was planted by the Apostles, and unquestionably had continued in the Church from the Apostles time unto this day.

New Petitions must come from the City unto that end with so great tumults, cry-

Petitions and tumults against the Bishops.

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crying, *No Bishop, no Bishop*; that as I had my selfe a share in the danger with him, so I saw old Sir John Strangewaies in the Court of Requests so crowded up into a corner by a multitude of people, and so clamoured with this noise, that I truly thought him in danger: and yet when wee both complained of it in the House, tho' averred by severall other Members, and set forth as an awing of Parliament, inconsiderate zeale was their excuse, and no remedy was applyed: and thus they legitimated all lewd attempts and tumults. But this may be truly and justly said for this sacred Order, that since the unwarranted and aspiring greatnes of the Papacy, it hath neither pleased Pope nor Presbyter: for the first hath endeavoured to derive it but from an Ecclesiasticall authority, that he might set up his owne monarchy: and the second, (which is of no longer date than Calvin's time) to introduce his parity has had the same designe. Nor was it safe for the House of Lords to deny the Commons any thing: since new doctrines were broacht, (when the major part of that House could not be prevayled on to concur in some of their designs) and distinctions must be made betwixt the *major* and *melior* part of the House: so

as it is become, *Cross you lose, and pile I winn*: for whether they were more or less in number, all was to be, as they would have it. And a motion was made by that leading man, Mr. Pym, *That the major part of the House of Commons and the minor of the Lords might be esteemed, as an authentick concurrence of both Houses.*

The jurisdiction of the House of Commons must now be so extensive, as not only in their own House, but to the humble and patient House of Lords messages must be sent by the now Lord Hollis, then a Member of the House of Commons, to demand the names of those major part of the Lords, that concurred not with them: and Committees, that in former times were named with great gravity, and confined to select numbers, to the end, that no man might have voices in the reports, that were to be made back from the Committee, but those, who were named of the Committee: (tho' then any Member of the House, tho' not of the Committee, might attend there, and asking leave to speak, give his reason, tho' not his vote, for or against the business) are now enlarged, that every one, that comes in, but in the last hour of the day, when the heat

The encroachments of the House of Commons,

heat of the service was over, received his peny, and his vote was as significant, as any ones, who had steddily attended the service. This facilitated designs very much: for some might vote in one afternoon at many Committees, when others necessarily must be fixed at one.

But when Princes grow weake, subjects will grow insolent, and whilst jurisdictions clash, the unity of the parts of government, which is the onely band of peace, becomes dissolved: and the multitude are taught to cast off all government, upon pretense they know not whom to obey. For it fares with politick bodies, as it doth with some hypochondriack and melancholy ones, who are alwayes tampering with themselves, upon occasion of some small or supposed distempers, until they have flung themselves into a reall disease. And thus wee see, how wise a thing it is, for Princes to contain themselves within their owne bounds, and subjects not to go beyond or exceed their old landmarks: for I cannot too often repeat the Historian Daniel's good observation, that *in a mixt Government, when one side layes hold on opportunities to violate the right of the other, as it is never just, so it is ever*
unfor-

unfortunate unto the State. But I who intend not to write Annalls, will not follow men step by step in their pernicious designs of subverting the Regall Government: or shew, how they made one thing a scale to ascend unto another; but I will here set down the nineteen Propositions they sent unto the King at York, having cursorily and lightly set down those smaller usurpations, which bred in them that appetite to these greater; which indeed amount unto the modest desire of transferring the sovereignty of the Crown to the jurisdiction of the two Houses: and it is conviction enough, that what they now ask, from the beginning they desired.

The particulars of which demands were, as follows:

I. *That all the King's Privy-Council, great Officers, and Ministers of State, may be put out, excepting such, as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them another path.*

Nineteen Propositions, sent by the Rebell-Westminster Parliament to the King at York.

II. *That all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament; except such matters, as are transferred by them to the Privy-Council, and to be concluded by the major part of them under their hands: the full number not to exceed*

heat of the service was over, received his peny, and his vote was as significant, as any ones, who had steddily attended the service. This facilitated designs very much: for some might vote in one afternoon at many Committees, when others necessarily must be fixed at one.

But when Princes grow weake, subjects will grow insolent, and whilst jurisdictions clash, the unity of the parts of government, which is the onely band of peace, becomes dissolved: and the multitude are taught to cast off all government, upon pretense they know not whom to obey. For it fares with politick bodies, as it doth with some hypochondriack and melancholy ones, who are alwayes tampering with themselves, upon occasion of some small or supposed distempers, until they have flung themselves into a reall disease. And thus wee see, how wise a thing it is, for Princes to contain themselves within their owne bounds, and subjects not to go beyond or exceed their old landmarks: for I cannot too often repeat the Historian Daniel's good observation, that *in a mixt Government, when one side layes hold on opportunities to violate the right of the other, as it is never just, so it is ever unfor-*

unfortunate unto the State. But I who intend not to write Annals, will not follow men step by step in their pernicious designs of subverting the Regall Government: or shew, how they made one thing a scale to ascend unto another; but I will here set down the nineteen Propositions they sent unto the King at York, having cursorily and lightly set down those smaller usurpations, which bred in them that appetite to these greater; which indeed amount unto the modest desire of transferring the sovereignty of the Crown to the jurisdiction of the two Houses: and it is conviction enough, that what they now ask, from the beginning they desired.

The particulars of which demands were, as follows:

I. *That all the King's Privy-Council, great Officers, and Ministers of State, may be put out, excepting such, as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them an oath.*

Nineteen Propositions, sent by the Rebell-Westminster Parliament to the King at York.

II. *That all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such matters, as are transferred by them to the Privy-Council, and to be concluded by the major part of them under their hands: the full number not to exceed*

exceed five and twenty, nor under fifteen; and if any place fall voyd in the intervall of Parliament, then the major part of the Council to choose one to be confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.

III. That all the great Officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with the approbation of Parliament, &c. as before said.

IV. That the government and the education of the King's Children be directed by Parliament, &c. ut supra.

V. Their marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.

VI. That the laws against Papists, Priests, and others be executed without toleration or dispensation, except by Parliament.

VII. No Popish Lord or Peer to have vote in Parliament, and their children to be educated in the Protestant faith.

VIII. To reforme Church-government, and as the Parliament shall advise.

IX. To settle the Militia, as the Parliament hath ordered, and the King to recall all his Declarations publist against their Ordinances therein.

X. All Privy-Counsellors and Judges to take the oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes, which shall be made this Parliament: (so to swear in present unto things in future.)

XI. All

XI. *All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places, quamdiu benè se gesserint.*

XII. *All Members of Parliament put out, during this time, are to be restored againe.*

XIII. *The justice of Parliament to passe upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their censure.*

XIV. *The generall pardon to passe with exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.*

XV. *All forts and castles of the Kingdom to be disposed of by Parliament: ut supra.*

XVI. *The King to discharge all his guards and forces now in being, and not to raise any other, but in case of actuall rebellion.*

XVII. *The King to enter into a strict alliance with all Reformed States, for their assistance to recover the rights of his Royall Sister, and her Princely issue to those dignities and dominions, which belong unto them.*

XVIII. *To cleare the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members by Act of Parliament.*

XIX. *No Peer hereafter to be made, shall sitt in Parliament without their consent.*

These

These articles are thus soon set down, that the rest of their traiterous proceedings may be the better understood.

The King's
journey into
Scotland.

The Scots having bin for so many months, and for so ill ends, with so much dishonor kept in the bowells of this Kingdom, and at last dismist with a brotherly kindnes of 300000 *l.* which they had scarcely ever seen before; at least as being given or paid by England; new reasons must be found for another journey for his Majestie to go into Scotland. But before he goes, the English Lords, (to say no more of it) who so inopportunately petitioned for a Parliament, least it might rise in judgment against them in future times, must be secured by Act of Parliament: and the Scotch Treaty, wherein were at least forty diminishing laws to the Crown, which passed in the late times, must at this time be likewise confirmed: and accordingly in the month of August his Majestie went into that Kingdom, and made a residence there of about three months and upwards; which he onely spent in confirming all they had done, and in giving titles of honor unto those, that had most demerited of him: amongst whom the Marquiss Hamilton was made Duke. But even at this time this great man, that he might shew, whom

Marquiss Hamilton made
Duke: soon
afterwards
justly reprocht by
the King.

whom he had served, and for whom he was held in jealousy by the King, seems to give out, that his Person, together with Argile's, was in great danger, which the King highly resented; but however retracted not the honour, he intended him; but possess him of the title with his Patent, and reproched him with this action, wherewith he seem'd to be much out of countenance.

The whole fruit of that journey was one single observance of the Scots towards the King; for in this Parliament they publish and revive a former Act, then in force; (which shewed, that by the laws of the land, the Militia there was lodged singly in the King) that Act declaring, *That it was detestable and damnable treason, in the highest degree, that could be, for any of the Scotch Nation, conjunctly or singly, to levy armes, or any Military forces upon any pretence whatsoever, without the King's commission.* If they had pleased, this Act (which they were so well knowing of) might have kept them at first from their entring into this land; or (they having reminded themselves thereof) it might at least have stopt them (when the fidelity of the subjects of England from, that low condition of his being not able to live

Another Parliament in Scotland.

in any security in his own Palace, but forced to quitt London (as one may say) in his doublet and hose, had made the King able to grapple with those, who had traiterously taken up armes) from once again reingaging against him. But where subjects cast off those principles or precepts of religion, whereby God obliges them to obedience unto their Prince, no municipall laws are of force to retain them in duty. Nor are these worse Rebels, than those, who entitle themselves unto the greatest faintship. But wee will leave these Scots for a time, lurking in their den for a new prey.

His Majestie's
private, tho'
not Privy
Counsellors;
properly so
called.

Some little time before (for Princes must have Counsellors) a new Triumvirat was raised; (and the number three best resembles or makes a fictitious one or unity, which two will not do; for in such cases there must be an odd number, and then three is the least, that can be found.) For the King had drawn over unto his Party three eminent Persons of the House of Commons, who had seemed very lukewarme in his interest: *viz.* the Lord Viscount Faulkland, Sir John Culpeper, and Sir Edward Hyde. These for some time lay hid, and were not discerned; and their advices and pens were most used upon emergent and important dis-

disputes betwixt the King and the two Houses : and they most commonly framed such answers, as were fit for the King to give in that conjuncture; for they well knew the temper of the House of Commons, and were supposed to know that of the Nation.

Every one of these Persons had some eminency, distinct from the other : for the Lord Faulkland had prodigious naturall parts, a memory, and a phansy, which retained all it read or heard : and then as rhetorically set it forth : and his notions were usefull, and not common : he loved his book, and so was a great Master of books : but in temper somewhat hypochondriack ; and therefore men of busines often found that in him, which they practised not themselves, nor perchance would not, if they could have imitated him. That which crowned all was, that he was a Person of great probity and sincerity.

Lord Faulkland.

Sir John Culpeper was a man of as great a memory, as the other, and tho' not of an equal learning, yet the warmth of his phansy gave him a very ready elocution. He excelled in making inquiry after, and disquisition into any affair, and whatever could almost be said *pro or con*, fell within his prospect. So

Sir John Culpeper.

as I have often heard him enumerate the severall opinions of at least halfe a score persons one after another, and distinctly and methodically answer every one: but he seldome made an entire judgement of the matter in question: for his apprehension was commonly better than his resolution; and he had an eagernes or ferocity, that made him less sociable than his other Collegues; (for his education and converse in the world had bin in part military) and his temper hasty.

Sir Edward
Hyde.

Sir Edward Hyde was of a cheerfull and agreeable conversation, of an extraordinary industry and activity, and of a great confidence: which made him soon at home at a Court. His naturall parts were very forward and sound; his learning was very good and competent; and he had a felicity both of tongue and pen; which made him willingly hearkened unto, and much approved; and having spent much of his studies in the Law, this made his discourse and writings the more significant; and his language and stile were very suitable to busines, if not a little too redundant. So as it was supposed, tho' there was alwaies a concurrence of the other's two judgments; that it was his pen, that was made most use of. Hence it was, that

his

his Majestie's Propositions, Messages, Replies, and Declarations were so well answering unto the rules of the House, and the subject matters treated of, and found so much better acceptance with the world, than those of the House of Commons. Which for a time was very advantageous to his Majestie's service; for it drew the curtaine, and made plain the deceitfulnes and unwarrantable designs of the Contrivers in Parliament, and the reasonableness of his Majestie's Propositions. But I remember a wise Lord, who had great influence on them all, would complain, that their wit and elegancy, as it was very delightfull; so it would not long last usefull: since contests betwixt a King and his Houses of Parliament could not be separated from ill consequences and pressures upon the rest of the subjects in generall in their common course of life; and that would beget rather a frowardnes in men to see such things treated of with elegancy and ironie, than any delight or complacence; and therefore he was wont to say, *Our good Pen will harm Us*. I find Mr. Hobbes hath made a reflexion on this in his late book of the Civill warrs. And when this good Lord perceived, (as in that Declaration at York) where the govern-

ment or the office of the King and that of the three Estates was set forth by a spirit of phansy and accommodation; as it rather wounded the regality, than convinc'd the refractory, and was not ground'd as low, as the law laid it, but suited to the lighter learning and disposition of the times, there he would be often wishing, rather for a blunt, than too keen a nibb of a pen.

A further account of these three great men, employed in the King's affaires and councils.

These excellent Persons, tho' they were great Masters of reason, yet could not pretend unto experience; and being to pilot a ship thro' a tempestuous sea, they had never before voyaged, (for they were to understand a Court, a Camp, and a Council-Board, all at once) it is rather to be wondred, they did so well, than that they made some errors. In this conjuncture it was necessity, that drew them into these great affairs; but it is the usuall vein of the Court of England, that it preserves no succession among its Officers; nor gives rise unto men by gradations from one employment unto a higher; and so chooses its Ministers of State, sooner upon some affection, and recommendation of a Queen, or Favourite, or great man, than upon the qualification of the Person chosen: too often thinking, that the Prince's favour supplies

his Minister's reason, and that his reason will not stand in need of experience. But to say no more, the experience of these latter times hath shewed, that this hath bin a costly error. These great men being henceforward to come sometimes upon the stage, I thought fit here to make mention of them, that both they and the actions, that went thro' their hands, might in the following story be the better understood, as it shall hereafter of that eminent man, the Lord Digby, late Earle of Bristol, whose character I reserve.

And now from Persons we will again look back to busines. Irish Rebellion.

Whilst the King was in Scotland, broke forth that dismal, inhumane, and bloody rebellion of the Irish; for it was not unlikely, but Popery would be projecting her advantages, when Presbytery was making such a harvest by her disloyalty both in England and Scotland; and as the old Dragon is most powerfull, subtile, and malicious, so he is alwaies most cruel. For these men carried their plott with that Jesuiticall secrecy and cruelty, that tho' they were prevented of surprising Dublin by a meer accident; yet thro' the Country it has bin thought, that in one week they massacred very near one

hundred thousand persons, men, women, and children. And tho' the King offered unto the two Houses here, that in person he would engage against these Rebels, and prayed their advice and assistance, yet they would afford him none; nay they disputed his power to levy volunteers against them; and would be contented with nothing, but the management of this warr by themselves; and when that was intrusted with them, as the defection both in Scotland and England, and the removal of Strafford, (which some wise men saw before) raised the Irish hopes to attempt this rebellion; so now by precipitate Votes the two Houses (confiscating all their lands, and making sale of them) cast this whole Nation into such a generall despair, that if there were any loyall or innocent among them, (which, we may justly fear, were very few) they were forced to take party with those, whom very probably they might abhor. And tho' this barbarity of the Irish could not but be abhor'd by the worst of these English-men, yet they were observed not to be displeased, that they had got an opportunity to obtain a Military power and management of a warr by themselves; and they afterwards made use of
it

it both in diverting men and mony, raised for this service, by employing them in their armies against the King here at home. And they insisted the more on having the management of this war in their own hands, because they found the great condescensions and concessions, which the King had made, were become to very many of the most opulent Citizens in London and other Corporations, and almost generally to the Gentry thro' the Kingdom so dissatisfactory, that men were rather troubled, that so much had bin granted; than ready to promote those further demands, which lay lurking in the cheife Men of the Houses, and were manifested, when they sent the King their XIX. Propositions before mentioned. For

Upon the King's returne out of Scotland, the City of London's splendid entertainment of him, and the discourses, that flew in all parts, of the ample satisfaction the King had given, (both which they foresaw, before it was put in execution) made them prepare so foul a Remonstrance to give the King his first entertainment amongst them, that a blacker libel could not be framed either against his Person or Government; and it passed so tumultuously two or three nights

The Parli-
ment's Re-
monstrance.

nights before the King came to Town, that at three of the clock in the morning, when they voted it, I thought, wee had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for wee, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catcht at each others locks, and sheathed our swords in each others bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmnes of Mr. Hamden by a short speech prevented it, and led us to deferr our angry debate, untill the next morning. The King's first entertainment therefore must be the presenting this libel or Remonstrance to him, and not long after contrary to his desire, printing and disperling it; and tumultuously pressing both him and the two Houses with a Bill for the casting out the Bishops from their seat in Parliament.

The Bishops
Protestation.

Against which tumults the Bishops made a formall, but legall Protestation, which the Lay-Lords made an occasion to commit them to the Tower upon; and not onely their places in Parliament, but their very callings are as tumultuously invaded; and a Petition brought from the City against both root and branch. After this the two Houses guilt or their ambition made them beleive themselves no way secure, till they had barefacedly demanded the Militia to be intrusted with them.

The two
Houses de-
mand the
Militia.

themselves: for tho' the Government thought the sword and purse not secure in any one hand, they thought it no immodesty to demand it; and yet they must not be understood, as subverters of the laws; no, not when the Judges of the land advised a Writ to be issued forth to disperse the tumultuous concourse about the King's Palace and the two Houses, must these tumults be interpreted an illegall proceeding; but the multitude must be heartned, and the Magistrates dishonored.

This flung the King into such a confusion of council, that in Scotland having learnt the confederacies against him, and the intelligence some of our great Members had held with the Ambassadors of foreign Princes, particularly the French, and somewhat of the depth of their design, he was forced to resolve to accuse some Members of both Houses of treason; but too late God knows: enough to shew, that when Princes will long put off their dangers by unreasonable concessions, they do not divert their hazard, but run into it. And now tho' he resolves to proceed against these Members, *viz.* the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. Hambden, Pym, and Stroude, by a due proceſſe in Law,

The King accuseth some Members of Parliament of high treason.

Law, and accuses them first in the Lords House by his Attorney-Generall, and then in the House of Commons by himselfe: (both Houses having ever allowed, that no priviledge of Parliament could by any single Member of either House be pretended unto in the case of treason, felony, or breach of peace) yet his coming to the lower House, being betrayed by that busy Stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle (who had now changed her Gallant from Strafford to Mr. Pym, and was become such a She-Saint, that she frequented their sermons, and took notes) he lost the opportunity of seizing their persons, which by a common course of law he might much safer have done; for they retired into the City, and being within a day or two to be brought back to the Houses with the London Train'd-Bands, (which was really treason for them to march thither without the King's Commission) he was forced with his Queen, (of whose person he was alwaies more chairy, than of his busines) to remove to Hampton-Court, and from thence to Dover, to transport her with her Daughter, the Lady Mary: (the then Princess of Orange) and from thence to come back to Greenwich; where by the fidelity of
that

The King's
quitting Lon-
don.

that great and good man, (who once made a great error, but heartily repented of it) the Earle of Hartford, he received his two Sons, and with them retreated towards York: which place he could not have gained, but as the Houses thought it would conduce more to their victory to fetch him back in triumph, than to stop him in his way. So despicable his condition appear'd to them; and yet because he was attended by the Lord Digby, and some forty or fifty Gentlemen, (a fit train for him onely in the high-ways) this was disclaim'd against, as levying a warr.

Being arrived at York, and cheerefully entertained by all there, his eminent virtues, his rational knowledge, his temperate course of life, his just mind, and pious soul, was so conspicuous, that he found a loyalty, when he had nothing of majesty or power to attract any persons to him. Which nothing but the good and Christian principles of the Church of England could have procured for him; and by the Sons of this Church he was defended to the last, and with them his memory is precious to this hour; and whenever for our judgment this Church shall be overthrown, (which God avert) the same principles will make those

The King
at York.

those men, or their sons, as forward to suffer for their religion, as ever they were to serve and suffer with this good Prince. For this Church (or the persons of it) serves Princes in order to their own serving God: (which I observe not other Sects to do, but for secular ends) and therefore I am assured, they will quit their interest in this World, rather than those heavenly truths, which they have suckt from the breast of this good and nursing Mother, the Church of England; and suffer by their Princes, when their wayes are such, as removes from them the occasion of suffering for them; for Religion is not a merchantable commodity.

The last
stage of the
King's life.

And now wee are come unto the last stage of this good Prince's life; and this leads us, tho' not to fathom the depth, yet to discern the course of divine Providence, which hitherto had led him through such a labyrinth of various fortunes, that knowing his goodnes and Christian patience, I ever expected (and there were often rational hopes to feed that desire) such a deliverance from God in his behalfe, as he had at other times afforded unto David, by teaching his hands to fight, and giving victory unto his Anointed. But his end, (I speak

it to my shame) as it flung me into great melancholy; so it did into some diffidence, and was the occasion to me of attempting an Essay about knowing God and a man's selfe by the light of reason and revelation.

This last part of this good King's reign will appear a state of Civill warr, which spread it selfe presently like an universall fire, and seized upon the whole Nation; and was not acted, as the former story was, in one part of the Nation alone, as in Parliament, Whitehall, City, &c. but was a conflagration at once, which broke out in every part of the Kingdom: and therefore wee must describe and methodize the remainder of this story, in observing, how this fire burnt in the four quarters of the land, and, as nigh as wee can, point at the time, as well as the places of the ensuing Tragedies: tho' herein probably, wee shall not be exact, and for want of knowledge of those numerous families, or eminent loyall Persons, engaged herein, wee may omit many, who as well deserved of the Crown, as those wee have mentioned; but writing from a fraile memory and some old ill-digested notes, the omission will be rather the Writer's misfortune, than his fault.

The breaking out of the Civill Warr.

It

The King at
York met
with all du-
tifull address
and assu-
rances of
loyalty.

The Hothams
refuse to de-
liver up Hull
to the King.

It was about the beginning of the year 1642, that the King came to York, and here finding both from the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of those Northern parts, a loyall and cheerfull reception, (he reflected upon the magazine of armes he had at Hull, and with a small train of Gentlemen, resolved to go thither, and secure them and that town: and tho' he came before it, not in the least hostile manner, yet the watchfull two Houses, who were resolved on a defection, had preoccupied his designe: for they had sent down Sir John Hotham and his son, whose estates neighboured upon those parts, with Commission to seize those armes, and secure that place. So as when the King came thither, he refused him entrance, and the King was forced to march away, as not provided in the least measure to force the place. The news whereof was carryed up by his own son, Mr. John Hotham, unto the two Houses: whom I heard in the House of Commons give the relation of what his Father had done; and he concluded with this, *Thus hath my Father and my selfe served you; fall back, fall edge.* And it was but few years, before the edge fell upon both their necks by the sentence of their new Masters:

Masters : for having foolishly managed this affair in the year 1644, when he would have delivered up the Town unto the King, the design was known, and both he and his son seized on ; and that which made the edge the sharper on them both, was, that the Houses, at least some Instrument of theirs, dealt very deceitfully with them both, and they very unnaturally with each other ; for they were fully perswaded, that the forfeiture of life would be taken but from one of them ; and the Father endeavoured to sacrifice the Son, and the Son the Father. It came unto the Son's part to suffer first, and then the Father thought himselfe secure : so as even untill he was going to lay down his head upon the block, he expected a reprieve : but when he began to despair of that, he was desirous to have spoken somewhat more unto the people ; but was not permitted : and therefore it might be easily judged, in what confusion of spirit he dyed.

The King, thus disappointed, returns from Hull to York, summons the Country unto him, issues out his Commission of Array, leavies and armes a few men for his Guard. From York he returns unto Hull, hoping, (being own'd by

The King
issues out
his Commission of Array.

so many Noble families, worthily reputed good Patriots and sound Protestants) that Hotham and those in Hull might relent of what they had done in keeping him out; but his forces being not equall unto the strength of that place, and finding their rebellious disposition inflexible, he onely appear'd before it, and retired, and then made a journey into Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Shropshire; and advanced as far as Chester with those few Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen, which he had with him: (for dayly some considerable persons with their train came in unto his service from every County) whereby he might assure those parts in their loyalty, and make his Declaration, as he had from York, where he made this following to his Peers, and the Peers made the following Engagement unto him, and subscribed the same.

The King's Declaration at York was this.

The King's
Declaration
at York.

WEE do declare, that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known laws, as wee expect, that you should not yeild unto any commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other. Wee will defend you all, and all such, as shall refuse

refuse any such commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. Wee will defend the true Protestant Religion, establish'd by the laws, the lawfull liberties of the subjects of England, and the just priviledges of all the three Estates of Parliament: and shall require no further obedience from you, than as wee accordingly shall perform the same. And wee will not (as is falsly pretended) engage you in any warr against the Parliament; except it be for our necessary defence against such, as do insolently invade or attempt against us and our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King the Peers made the following Promise and Engagement, and subscrib'd it with their hands, as follows:

WE do engage our selves not to obey any orders or commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known laws of the land. Wee engage our selves to defend your Majestie's Person, Crown, and Dignity, with your just and legall prerogatives, against all persons and power whatsoever. Wee will defend the true Protestant Religion, established by the laws of the land, the lawfull liberties of the subjects of England, and the just priviledges of your

The Lords
Address and
Engagement
to his Ma-
jestic.

Majestie and both Houses of Parliament. Lastly, We engage our selves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever concerning the Militia, that hath not the Royall assent.

Subscribed by

Lord Keeper.	L. Willoughby of
Duke of Richmond.	Eresby.
Marquis of Hartford.	L. Rich.
Earle of Lindsey.	L. Charles Howard
E. of Cumberland.	of Charleton.
E. of Huntington.	L. Newark.
E. of Bath.	L. Pagett.
E. of Southampton.	L. Chandöys.
E. of Dorsett.	L. Falconbridge.
E. of Salisbury.	L. Paulett.
E. of Northampton.	L. Lovelace.
E. of Devonshire.	L. Coventry.
E. of Bristol.	L. Savile.
E. of Westmorland.	L. Mohun.
E. of Barkshire.	L. Dunsmore.
E. of Monmouth.	L. Seymour.
E. of Rivers.	L. Gray of Ruthen.
E. of Newcastle.	L. Faulkland.
E. of Dover.	The Comptroller.
E. of Carnarvan.	Secretary Nicolas.
E. of Newport.	Sir. John Culpeper.
Lord Mowbray and	Lord chief Justice
Matravers.	Banks. &c.

But

But Salisbury within few dayes after stole away to London.

And this Engagement of his to the Peers, and the Peers to him, the King sent up to the two Houses, expecting it might have induced them unto peace. But they were none of those fools, who had the price in their hands, and would not make use of it. They discerned his weaknes, and were overweening of their own power; and what they had by so much craft and violence obtained, they would not now lose by any religious credulity in their Prince; but the XIX. Propositions were now published: and now they must be maintained. Which forced him soon after to set up his standard at Nottingham, and yet at the same time to shew, that the warr was as unnaturall unto him, as it was in it selfe, he sends a new Message by those three eminent Persons, the Earles of Southampton and Dorsett and Sir John Culpeper: believing, that the character of the Earle of Southampton (whom all Parties very much valued and confided in, and who had bin a witnes of his Majestie's intentions and councils) would prevaile much more upon them, than any professions he could make by paper; and thus by this great and good man's personall appearance

Message sent from the King to the Parliament, by

the Earle of Southampton,

Earle of
Dorset, and
Sir John Cul-
peper :

but not
admitted
to deliver it
in person.

The Parlia-
ment refu-
seth to treat
with the
King, but
upon disho-
norable con-
ditions.

thought to give them satisfaction. But he finds their temper was not altered; for neither Southampton, nor the Earle of Dorset, (a Gentleman of great parts and elocution) nor Culpeper, (lately an eager Patriot) were so much as admitted (tho' all Members of the Houses) into their places; no nor to deliver, but send in their Message; for the Lords, that were gone over to the King, were before this time all impeacht, and the Commons as it were curst by bell, book, and candle. And it is declared, that the King, seduced by evil counsell, had deserted his Parliament, had set up his Standard, and made Proclamations of rebellion against some of their cheife Members; and now he must take down the one, and recall the other, before they can vouchsafe to treat with him. And tho' by a second dispatch he offered all this, if they would recall their Commission to Essex, and the severall Declarations and Impeachments against those noble and loyall Persons, who according to their duties and the laws adhere to him; yet the supposition of their strength and his weaknes (for all the beasts dance about the sick Lyon's den) makes them so insolent, as to decline all accommodations. For tho' the King had never charged his two Houses,

but

but some of the prevailing Party in them with this defection towards him; yet he must be now said to have put his two Houses, and consequently (as they inferr'd) his whole Kingdom out of his protection; tho' their proceedings and the Kingdom's affections made them and that universall Body to be very different in opinions: for at that time (set aside the Corporations) the severall Counties were most of them declaring for the King, and voluntarily running the hazard of his condition, when it was so despicable in the eyes of these men.

And that this may appear so, for the better method of this affaire, wee shall set down what interest he gained in the East, West, and South of this kingdom, and that distinctly one from another; having in some measure set forth already his reception in the North.

What party appeared for the King, through the four quarters of the Realme.

The East being an angle of this kingdom, and no throughfare into any other parts, and all as it were empaled and shut up by London, their good affections were stifled; but like a smothering fire, it was now and anon blazing out, but soon extinguisht. So as Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Suffex, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Suffolk, were full of good affections, but were kept, as fresh pastures for the

The King's party in the East.

Parliament: for they were properly and singly in their quarters. And tho' the King could no way receive the benefit of their good affections; yet he had divers of the cheife Gentry with him. And of their inclinations their Masters (the two Houses) so doubted, that, tho' they should have eased them in their taxes, as most properly belonging to themselves, more than any other parts, yet knowing, how little they were voluntarily obliged to them, they laid that load upon them, that unto this day they feel the inequality of; and hereof they never eased them, even when the whole Kingdom came to be their quarters. Which could arise from no other reason, but because in the generality they affected not their cause. But thus kept, they were a magazine of men, provisions, and mony thro' the whole contest. Their aptitude to rise, and cast off this yolk, will be shewed in the future progress of this warr; and in those desires and expectations they had of the King's sending them a body of Horse to countenance their rising, and in their attempts even without them, which they so inopportunately and fruitlessly made, whereof mention shall be made hereafter.

For

For the sea-coasts of the West, the ^{west} great trading towns of Bristol, Lyme, Falmouth, Plymouth, and Exceter, (the King's navy being now under the command of the two Houses) their interest as well as their inclinations made them Parliamentarians. Onely the Cornishmen (as old bold Britains) were eminently loyall and Royallists, tho' they had strong temptations to the contrary. The inland towns and cities in the West were most for the King: the most eminent Noblemen and Gentry thro' the Country were firmly loyall to their Prince; and the interest of those eminent Members of the Parliament, such as Greenville, Slanning, Hopton, Stowel, Strangewaies, Rogers, Windham, &c. and many more joyning themselves to the Marquis of Hartford, found such a disposition in the generality of the Commons, that when they appeared as Heads for them to resort unto, those countries (tho' not the great towns) seemed much more the King's, than the two Houses or Rebels part.

The South bordered so much upon ^{South} London, that like the East, they were not much at their own liberty; but it may with modesty be averred, that if the awe from them could have bin
remo-

removed, and the freedom given them of three months ranging themselves either under a Commander for the King, or in Essex's army, the King would have appeared the Governor of the land; tho' the two Houses were with their Admirall Warwick the Neptunes of the sea, and of the trade of it, which the Crown may thank the Earle of Northumberland for; who having had the greatest trust and honour imaginable put into his hands, he thought it no irreligion, rather to deliver into the hands of the enemies of the King, than into the hands of the King himselfe who directed him to deliver up the navy unto Sir John Pennington.

The great advantages the two Houses had over the King.

And this may be easily granted, when the conflux of the considerable Gentlemen and men of great estates to the King's armies appeared so cheerfull and so numerous in every part; tho' the authority of the two Houses, (wherewith the people were at that time amated) the riches of the City of London, and the trading Ports, the vast number of armes, and magazines of powder, ammunition, and all other habiliments of warr, which they had seized on of the King's, and the great zeale of the Presbyterian, Phanatick, and Parliamentary party,

party, supported with the wealth of the King, Queen, and Prince's revenue, and generally the revenue of the Church, throughout all their quarters, and of the confiscated estates of the Nobility and Gentry, gon over to the King, and the heavy taxes laid upon the subject in divers shapes and distinct titles, (as if three groats were less than a shilling) made their beginnings so supereminent or outballancing the King's condition.

All these and many more oppressive ways, (none of them flowing from a just authority, or warrantable by any process of law, being acts of tyranny) lay as impediments to hinder men in these parts from serving the King; but could not amount to the disheartning them. For very many considerable Gentlemen, nay rich Yeomen, who had never received favour or beneficence from the King, crouded to share with him in his hazards, and left their estates at home, that they might follow him abroad: (which since hath bin too much forgot.) But because there was in the Army a negligent or dissolute Party, those out of it, that followed the King upon conscience of religion and law, were neglected, when there was a great opportunity

The King's
party hereby
not dis-
heartned.

nity to have own'd them , and thereby to have own'd loyalty : which being a virtue, like the rest of the virtues, withers, if not warm'd. Indeed at this time the two Houses had made themselves absolute Sovereigns of the Realm, having seiz'd on the Militia , and made their Ordinances (as they call'd them) sufficient authority to charge the Subject with what mony and contribution they pleased : and therefore having thus assum'd the sword and the purse , the Navy and the Exchequer, as well as all the strong holds and sea-towns of this trading land ; it is no marvell , that at last their armes were prosperous. But it was a great marvell , how the King sometimes came to those fair probabilities of overthrowing them. With this power they not onely imprison'd , but kept on shipboard the cheifest Aldermen ; such as Garraway, Abdy, and the then Lord Mayor Gurney of the City of London, for refusing to pay their taxes, which they would have defended themselves from by appealing to the law.

This was the first state or the beginning of this unnatural rebellious warr in this year 1642, after the King had sett up his standard at Nottingham , and was refused

refused an equall treaty, and that Essex was commissioned, and an oath framed, and tendred unto all the Members to live and dye with him.

Which oath, among others, a good Gentleman, Sir Sidney Mountague, Father of the late Earle of Sandwich, would not take: for he said, *he would not swear to live with him, because he was an old man, and might dye before him; nor would he swear to dye with him, since the Earle was going with an army against the King, which he did not know, how to free from treason; and so he did not know what end that great man might come to.* But for this reflexion he was presently voted to be dismembred, and another chosen into his place, to serve as Knight for Huntingdonshire.

The Parliament gives a Commission to the Earle of Essex, and frames an oath; which was refused, particularly by Sir Sidney Mountague.

This family of the Mountagues was a noble worthy family, and of a leading consideration in Northamptonshire. It had six Brothers, four remarkable for severall qualifications. The eldest Brother was the Lord Mountague of Boughton, a man of a plain downright English spirit, viz. of a steddy courage, of a devout heart, and a true Son of the Church of England; yet so severe and regular in his life, that he was by the most

Digression about the family of Mountague,

L. Mountague of Boughton,

most reckoned amongst the Puritans; and yet so steddly he was to the Liturgy of the Church of England, that when he had married his eldest Son unto Secretary Winwood's eldest Daughter, who affected not the Common Prayer, which he used twice dayly in his House, he would say to her, *Daughter, if you come to visit me, I will never ask, why you come not to Prayers; but if you come to cohabit with me, pray with me, or not live with me.* He liv'd amongst his Neighbours with great hospitality, and no man was more knowing in the Country-affaires; (whether it was in relation to the King's service, or the common administration of justice, as at the Assizes, and such other meetings) than he was. He was a great Benefactor unto the town of Northampton, and bore such sway there, that he turned every thing at his beck, and the multitude or vulgars flockt about him, when he came to town, as if he had bin their topicall Deity. In Parliament he was never froward to the Court, nor forward to flatter it; but was observed alwayes to countenance the establisht laws, rather than to be apt to make new changes, whether in Church or State; and after he had waited once or twice upon the King at Whitehall, they

they saw him there no more. This was the common course of his life. The second Brother was Bishop Mountague, Bishop Mountague. who was a very reverend and learned Prelate, and dyed Bishop of Winchester, being in great esteem with King James. The third was the Earle of Manchester, Earle of Manchester. who professed the common law, and from Recorder of London, came to be Lord cheife Justice of the King's Bench, afterwards Lord Treasurer of England, where he continued but a short time; then was made President of the Councill of State, (for he and Chancellor Bacon were put out of their places together,) and at last dyed Lord Privy-Seal. He was a man deeply learned in his profession; he never warped from the interest of the Crown, which he understood, and was wont to say, *The popular humor of lopping its prerogative would endanger the whole body of the Nation;* and he would often bewaile, (as he hath done to my selfe) that his son Kimbolton was so busily engaged in a popular Party, even at that time, (which was in the year 1640) when his Son's single interest defended him from that impotency, which run thro' his whole life, of refusing nothing, that was given him. The youngest Brother was this Sir Sidney Mount-

Sir Sidney
Mountague.

Mountague, who was a Master of Request, and whose character wee have already sett down; and of him wee have told a story, which I am too frequent in, if I had any other chiefe designe, than calling to my own mind, the things, that passed in my own time. And from hence it is I borrow the liberty of telling another story of the eldest Brother.

This good Lord, when our troubles new broke forth was very aged: but being Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, the King, when he was at York, had sent him his Commission of Array, and he readily acknowledged the authority, and was putting it in execution. But Northampton being nigher London, than York, and those at London being much troubled, that a man of reputation, and against whom they had not the least thing to charge, should influence those Countries, they sent a party of Horse for him, to bring him up a prisoner; (and this was just about the time, when the Earle of Essex was marching out with his *glorious army* against the King. This good Lord mett this great Generall about Barnett, upon the highway, and the Lord of Essex stopt his coach, intending to go and salute him; but as soon as my Lord Mountague heard of it, he commanded

his

his Coachman to drive away, and said, *this was not a time for complements*: which was a true piece of English bravery and loyalty; and so disappointed the Generall's civility, and might have converted him to his loyalty, if he had well reflected on it. And one thing more I must observe of him in this journey, to shew the baseness of vulgar spirits, and the madness of a multitude; that when his coach was driven thro' the town of Northampton, and he having an old Maid in the coach with him, who serv'd him in the nature of a Nurse, the Phanatick populaey even in that town followed his coach, reviling him as a Malignant, and declaiming against him and his Female in the usuall phrases, which fill such mouths on such occasions. And that the end might be like the beginning and middle of his journey, when he came to London, and was brought before the Committee of State, he asserting the legality of his obedience to his Majestie, they (complementing his former course of life, as an eminent Patriot, tho' now defected) told him, they must now retayn him a Prisoner, but it should be in his own Daughter's house, the Countess of Rutland; which he utterly refused; and said, *If he deserv'd to be a Prisoner,*

Q

he

he deserv'd to be sent to a Prison; and in conclusion, would not be sent unto her house, (for she was busy in the Parliament-cause, and so her house was irksome to him) untill the Warrant named her house his prison, which the Lady was much disgruntled at. I put great value upon such a mind, as this; and therefore I had no mind to discard this story from these immethodicall reflexions, which I make upon these broken times; since they are so good discoveries of what so good men, as this ~~was~~, thought of the King's person and cause.

Prince Ru-
pert.

About this time, anno 1642, comes to Nottingham that brave Prince and hopefull souldier, Rupert, together with his brother, Prince Maurice. He found there a very thin and small army, and the Foot very meanly armed; and understanding in what forwardnes, and in what great numbers, and how well armed, Essex was advancing upon the King, advice is taken to retreat back to Shrewsbury, where in a little time new supplies coming out of Wales and other parts, this Prince, who (tho' a young man) had in martiall affairs some experience and good skill, and who was of such intrepid courage and activity, as
that

that clean contrary to former practice, when the King had great armies, but no Commanders forward to fight, he so soon ranged and disciplined this small body of men, that engaging a good party of the Earle of Essex's under the command of Colonel Sandys near to the City of Worcester after a sharp dispute, he there in person got a clear victory; and the terror of that contributed very much unto that easy one, over the Parliament's Horse, which not many weeks after he gain'd at Edge-hill. Of so great virtue is the personall courage and example of one great Commander. And indeed (to do him right) he put that spirit into the King's army, that all men seem'd resolved: and had he bin as cautious, as he was a forward Fighter, and a knowing Person in all parts of a Soldier, he had most probably bin a very fortunate one. He shewed a great and exemplary temperance, which fitted him to undergo the fatigue of a warr; so as he deserv'd the character of a Soldier; *Il est-oit toujours Soldat*: for he was not negligent by indulgences to his pleasures, or apt to lose his advantages: yet his eagerness to fight, and that with a well-armed Army, who afterwards grew to be well disciplined, turned to prejudice. And a

little sharpnes of temper of body, and uncommunicablenes in society or council, (by seeming with a pish to neglect all another said, and he approved not) made him less grateful, than his friends wished; and this humor sowed him towards the Counsellors of Civill affairs, who were necessarily to intermix with him in Martiall counsils. And these great men often distrusted such downright soldiers, as the Prince was, tho' a Prince of the blood, lest he should be too apt to prolong the warr; and to obtain that by a pure victory, which they wished to be got by a dutifull submission upon modest, speedy, and peaceable terms, or by Adresses of the two Houses to the King. And indeed had the Prince studied more to have removed this jealousy, or the King more vigorously interposed therein, and bin Master of both Parties, his armes had probably bin much more prosperous, than they were; but neither of them stood in awe of him; and so the consequence was fatall.

Edge-hill
fight.

Generall Officers and
Commanders.
Earle of
Lindsey.

It was not long after he had obtained this victory upon Sandys, that he fought that great battell at Edge-hill, where the noble Earle of Lindsey, (a man of undaunted courage, and of a good experience in soldiery; for he and the Earle of

of

of Essex had bin Camerades and Commanders in foreign warrs, tho' they were now Generalls of opposite armies) was made a Generall, the King being Generalissimo himselfe; the old Generall Ruthen, a Scot, an experienc'd Commander, and a man of a naturall courage, and purely a soldier, and of a most loyall heart, (which he had many occasions to shew, before the warr was ended, and which his Country-men remembred; for they used both him and his Widow, a Swedish Lady, with all extremity afterwards) was Adjutant in the command of the Horse; and Sir Jacob Ashly (who in every thing deserves Ruthen's character) was Major-Generall of the Army under the Earle of Lindsey; who, before the charge at the battell at Edgehill, made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer: for he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, *O Lord! thou knowest, how busy I must be this day: if I forget thee, do not thou forget me.* And with that, rose up, crying out, *March on Boys!* for the King had given order, that untill the enemy should first have shot their cannon at our body of men, ours should not engage. In this battell Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the Horse, and the

Lord Wilmott the left; and the Lord Digby commanded one reserve of Horse, and the Lord Byron the other.

Faults in the
management
of the battell
at Edge-hill.

But as if a fate had attended all we did, tho' Prince Rupert entirely routed the left wing of Essex's Horse, which being perceived, Wilmott had very little to do with the right: (for he that marks Wilmott's whole progress thro' this warr, shall find him much affected to be an umpire of peace; which had bin well done, if he had quitted the King's army, and gone into his Council, than a decider of the contest by the sword; tho' the Gentleman wanted no courage nor experience, nor, I hope, loyalty) but both reserves pursuing the chase, contrary to all discipline of warr, left the King and his Foot so alone, that it gave Essex a title unto the victory of that day; which might have bin his last day, if they had done their parts, and stood their ground. And it was the more strange, that the reserves would thus precipitately engage themselves, when they saw the King had given leave unto his own Volunteer-Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who with their attendance made two such Troops, as that they consisted of about three hundred Horse: for a vanity had possesst that Troop, (upon a little

pro-

provocation, or for a word of distaste the day before, or being called, *The Troop of Shew*) to desire this honour of being engaged in the first charge; and I had the honour to be of the number, and to be one of the most inconsiderable Persons of it; and when wee valued the estates of the whole troop, wee reckoned there was 100000 *l. per ann.* in that Body, stak'd that day in that engagement against men of very disproportionable quality.

This was our first and great military misadventure; for Essex by his reserves of Horse falling on the King's Foot, prest on them so hard, that had not some of our Horse returned in some season unto the reliefe of our foot, wee had certainly lost the day, which all circumstances considered, wee as certainly wonn. But the next day gave us the assurance of our victory: for the evening parting us, wee found the Lord of Essex was retreated with his army into Warwick town and castle: and wee advanced to the town of Banbury, which with its castle was garrisoned; and tho' Warwick was very nigh Banbury, yet wee took in the town and castle, and made prisoners the regiment quartered there; and so the King marched to Oxford,

Banbury and
Warwick
taken.

The King
marcheth up
to London
after Essex.

Offers of a
Treaty at
Colebrooke.

which he garrisoned. Whilst he refreshed his men, Essex stole by other roads as many of his army to London, as he could; and the King upon this reputation hastened to be there by such marches as might not wear out his soldiers; and he advanced as far as Colebrooke, within fifteen miles of the City, and there he is met by some Lords and Commissioners with a Message from the two Houses, beseeching him to keep himselfe and army at some distance from the City, that Commissioners might attend him in order unto a Treaty of peace; which he offered to do, in case the two Houses would render him his Palace at Windsor: for it was no more than an house of magnificence, being of no or little strength, tho' it was called a castle, and then garrisoned by the Parliament-Party. But the Commissioners had no such authority, nor would own so much the reasonableness of this proposition, as to carry it by one or two of themselves: so as Mr. White, the Earle of Dorset's Secretary, was sent away with that message; but when he came to London, he was ill treated, and carried in, like a common Drummer or Trumpetter, blindfolded, to animate the Volunteers, (whom they were at that very time

arming

arming forth under the Earle of Warwick in great numbers, and to strengthen the Earle of Essex's lately disheartned army, who lay at Turnham-green, betwixt Hammersmith and Brentford) and to discredit his Majestie's Message, and chill the fervor of his party.

Here our lukewarm temper, or what the French call *entre-deux*, wounded us again; for the King and the Counsellors about him affecting *iniquissimam pacem*, &c. the worst conditions of peace, before the most prosperous warr; spent about halfe a day with these Commissioners, whom had he immediately return'd (tho' he had used them as friendly and kindly as he did) with that message he sent by Mr. White, it would have given the Houses a fair proposition to have considered of, and cast the numerous part of the City into less despair, and given unto his owne Party therein an heartning and a subject matter to have promoted. All which the ill and scornfull usage of the King's Messenger qualst. But resolute Prince Rupert, advancing as far as Brentford, found a strong house on the road, which then belong'd unto Sir Richard Gwynn, well mann'd, which gave him some short stop, before he clear'd it; and Brentford was mann'd
by

Brentford-
fight.

by Denzil Hollis's full regiment, who made him a sharp dispute for some hours, before he took in that town, where he cut off or took prisoners all, that defended it. Thus this day was spent, and the Earle of Essex, who lay within two miles of it, came not up to its reliefe: because Warwick was not come up to him. The King lay that night at Hounslow, some three miles off, with the body of the army; where (if Essex had pleased the next day) there was a large fair heath for the two armies to have tryed once again their courage and fortunes. But he being thus recruited, and the two Houses and City making no further address, and provisions for the King's army's longer stay there being wanting, about the middle of the day he marched off towards a summer-house of his own at Oatlands, betwixt Windsor and Hampton-Court, where there were still fair heaths for the two armies to have engaged, if the Parliament-forces would have made the adventure; and he lay there about two dayes, and then retreated unto the town of Reading, which he made a garrison, and so back to winter at Oxford.

Commanders
in the North
for the King

What good affections and promptitude
to maintaine the King's just rights, and

to

to deliver him from the persecution of his two Houses, his Majestie left in the North, wee have already sett down. To keep up the fervor in those places, two eminent Lords, the Earle of Cumberland and the Earle of Newcastle, were left behind. The first had his residence at York, the other was leavying fresh men in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, and so onwards; who having raised a good and considerable Army, disperst young Hotham with the Parliament-forces, which sought to impede his march, and came up to York, where the Earle of Cumberland (who had bin no wayes equally active to what was expected of him; for he was a most loyall and honourable Person, even unto his death, unto the King) layd down his charge: for his Genius was not military. The Earle of Newcastle took the whole command upon him, and made his head-quarters at York.

Earle of
Cumber-
land.

Earle of
Newcastle.

He was a Gentleman of grandeur, generosity, loyalty, and steddy and forward courage; but his edge had too much of the razor in it: for he had a tincture of a Romantick spirit, and had the misfortune to have somewhat of the Poet in him; so as he chose Sir William Davenant, an eminent good Poet, and loyall

His chara-
cter.

loyall Gentleman, to be Lieutenant-Generall of his Ordnance. This inclination of his own and such kind of witty society (to be modest in the expressions of it) diverted many counsels, and lost many opportunities; which the nature of that affair, this great man had now entred into, required. The Parliament-party in the North was chiefly upheld by the Lord Fairfax, and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Hugh Cholmley, and Captain Hotham; and tho' this great Lord gave those forces a defeat at Tadcaster, yet they often endangered his disperst quarters, and got some credit by it; for his army, tho' considerable, was soon weakned by a false policy; for he endeavoured to raise the reputation of it by multiplying his Commissions for new regiments, troops, and companies, for which they received some advancement, and quarters assign'd to them for their men; which they scarce ever raised in such a number, as to embody; and yet in such a number, as did harraß and impoverish the country, and lying with their few men scattered and thinn, were often surpris'd, and then the enemy had the reputation to have defeated a regiment, where there was perchance but halfe a company or troop.

And

And this, I believe, was a very great wound to him from the first; for had he recruited his first or old troops and companies, and not thus loosely aimed at new, his army would have bin more powerfull, tho' nominally less numerous, and could have lain closer together; and so consequently have bin stronger in it selfe, and more active upon the enemy. But ere long his army grew very considerable; for Colonel Goring landed at Newcastle with 200 Commanders and some armes from Holland; and Generall King not long after landed there likewise, and brought him 6000 armes, and the Queen presently after landed at Burlington-Bay with good provision of armes, ordnance, and ammunition, and was by the Earle of Newcastle conveyed to York; and she had so influenced Sir Hugh Cholmley, who commanded the port of Scarborough for the Parliament, and old Sir John Hotham and his son, who commanded Hull, that important garrison; that had she bin as successful in the last, as she was in the first, the whole North had bin cleared, and that undoubtedly would have turn'd the scale upon the South, and restored his Majestie unto his just rights, the people unto their true liberties, and the nation unto

unto its former profound peace. But Hotham's timorous temper betrayed himselfe and the design. The Queen marches up to Oxford, and the King mett her at Edge-hill, where were all the demonstrations of affection and joy imaginable.

The King's
affaires in
1643, in the
North and
West.

Hopton.

Stamford.

This was in the year 1643, when the King in this good condition both in the North and West was prosperous; Sir Ralph Hopton having in the West about the same time defeated the Parliament-forces, who lay about Plymouth under the command of the Earle of Stamford. However, the King sent unto the two Houses to treat of a peace; upon which errand came to Oxford the Earle of Northumberland, Mr. Peirpoint, &c. But the propositions were nigh as unreasonable and haughty, as the former; so as the King not complying, they are by their Masters called back, and the warr goes on. Essex marches up towards Oxford, and then retreats, and sets down before Reading, a long and irregular town to be fortified, and required more men to defend it, than were then in it; and tho' the King hastened to its releif, and was near it, and engaged with some of the out-forces, which blocked it up, and beat them off;

yet

yet the Governor Colonel Fielding, even ^{Fielding.} in that instant, loosly rendred it upon conditions of marching out with armes, bag, and baggage; and was questioned for his life, but not executed, which made some discontents at Oxford.

A sicknes at this time had seized upon the Earle of Essex's army; so that considerable man Colonel Hambden, with Colonel Sheffeld, was about Chinner, leavying recruits for that army in Oxfordshire towards Tame. Prince Rupert with a strong party drawn out of Oxford, being advertised of it by Colonel Hurry a Scott, defeated them there in Chalgrove-feild, which was the very place, where Mr. Hambden had first put in execution the first Parliament-Commission for the Militia against the King's authority. Hambden himselve ^{Hambden.} was retreated with a small party into a little field very near the place of engagement: a small party of the Princes perceiving that little body so at distance, briskly charged them, having not the least knowledge that M. Hambden was among them. Here he received an hurt in the shoulder, whereof in three or four dayes after he dyed; for his blood in its temper was acrimonious, as the scurfe commonly on his face shewed.

He

His character.

He was certainly a person of the greatest abilities of any of that Party. He had a great knowledge both in Scholarship and in the Law. He was of a concise and significant language, and the mildest, yet subtillest, speaker of any man in the House; and had a dexterity, when a question was going to be put, which agreed not with his sense, to draw it over to it, by adding some equivocall or sly word, which would enervate the meaning of it, as first put. He was very well read in history; and I remember the first time I ever saw that of D'Avila of the Civil Warrs of France, it was lent me under the title of Mr. Hambden's *Vade mecum*; and I beleive no copy was liker an originall, than that rebellion was like ours. He was a man of a great and plentiful estate, and of great interest in his country, and of a regular life; and tho' he took upon him but the title of a Colonel, (for he had greater interest to raise the men, than aptitude to range or fight them) yet he thus dyed (as is before exprest) in a martiall engagement. The news whereof (he being so eminent a man) soon came to Oxford by a tenant of Dr. Giles's, who was Parson of Chinner, not far from the place where the engagement was; who accidentally meeting

meeting me, first told it unto me, and I brought him unto the King. The Doctor was a near neighbour and friend of Mr. Hambden's, and being an opulent man, he had built himselfe a very good Parsonage-house, in the contrivance of which structure Mr. Hambden had used his skill. The King required the Doctor, as from himselfe, to send to see him; for I found the King would have sent him over any Chirurgeon of his, if any had bin wanting; for he lookt upon his interest, if he could gain his affection, as a powerfull means of begetting a right understanding betwixt him and his two Houses. I remember, how the Doctor regretted the King's command; for, sayes he, I have seemed unlucky to him in severall conjunctures of time, when I made addressees to him in my own behalfe: for he having bin formerly so kindly my friend, before I came to Oxford, wee the Prebendaries of Windsor being all turn'd out of our houses, in the carrying off of my goods, my wagons were robbed and plundered, tho' warranted by passport; and I addressing to him for releife, my messenger came in that very instant, in which the news of his eldest son's death came to him; and some good time after falling into a like

R

cala-

calamity, tho' I failed of the fruit of his intended releife the first time, yet I hoped to have found it the second; but my messenger unfortunately met then with another, that brought the news of his beloved daughter, Mrs. Knightley's death; so I seem'd to scritch-owl him. However the Doctor sent, and when he heard of a message from him, this poor Gentleman, tho' he was in an high fever, and not very sensible, was much amated at it. These little stories I put down, because the discovery of great men's natures are often lively expositions of their great counsels: history being but a reduction of moralls into examples. It was usually said, that he had more ambition to have bin the Prince's Governor, than any greater place: for aiming at the alteration of some parts of the Government, (for at first probably it amounted not unto a design of a total new form) he knew of how great a consequence it would be, that a young Prince should have principles suitable to what should be establisht as lawes.

The Author
sent by the
King into the
North to the
Earle of
Newcastle.

The King finding by these experiences in the South, how tough the busines was like to prove, sent me some time before into the North to the Earle of Newcastle. My commission was, (for

(for I had but three or four words under the King's hand, written in a piece of white sarsenet, to give me credit with him) to try, what he meant to do with his Army; and whether with a good part of it he would (when the season was) march up southerly, and in a distinct body keep at some distance from the King, to give a check unto the southern army. But I found him very averse to this, and perceived, that he apprehended nothing more, than to be joynted to the King's army, or to serve under Prince Rupert; for he designed himselfe to be the man, that should turn the scale, and to be a self-subsisting and distinct army, wherever he was. Which when I perceived fixt in him, being left to discretion, I thought it more reasonable to wave it, than presse him to the contrary; and by severall stories and expressions he made, I discovered, he was bottom'd upon this ground, and would not be brought from it. For I found with great favor he related to me the story of the arch-Irish-Rebell Tyrone; who being taken prisoner by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, and brought up to Q. Elisabeth; and Tyrone perceiving the Deputy waiting in the Privy-Chamber among the Nobility and Gentry there,

without any distinguishing character of the greatnes he held in Ireland, Tyrone vented himselfe to a Country-man of his, who told it thus; *I am ashamed, sayes he, to have bin taken a prisoner by yond great man, who now in a crowd makes himselfe so low and common, as to be waiting for a woman's coming out.* To descant no more upon the story; I thought I might make a full resolution, how little he intended to keep himselfe in a neernes with his army, to be in conjunction, if need were, with the King's; and yet he told me, that when he could quitt Yorkshire, and leave it in a condition to defend it selfe against the before mentioned enemies in it, (which the Yorkshire men would not have bin unwilling to have adventured, if he had left them in some measure their own forces, and march'd with his own more northerly army; for they knew the Parliament would command Fairfax after him) he would march thro' Lincolnshire, and recruit himselfe there, and so over the Washes into Norfolk, and Suffolk, and the associated Counties; which had bin a noble designe. For before this, by reason of Essex and his army's improprosperity at Edgehill, and the moldring away of it about Reading; and because of

of the considerableness of the Lord of Newcastle's army, and the dwindling of Fairfax's about Hull, the two Houses, under the conduct of the Earle of Manchester and Cromwell, whose interest lay in those Counties, the one in Huntingtonshire, the other in Cambridgehire, had associated unto them Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and the Isle of Ely; and those forces were by the Earle of Essex first put under the command of the Lord Gray of Wark, yet not long after they devolved into the hands of the Lord Manchester and Cromwell. And here was the root of the Independency; and this army, when afterward it joyn'd with the Scotch army, and defeated the Earle of Newcastle at Marston-moore, and took in York, extinguish't his glory; which, if he had pursued that design of marching into their associated Counties, it had prevented; so as he had a naturall foresight, from whence his danger should arise; but not a good Angell or Genius to divert it.

The Associated Counties under the direction of Manchester and Cromwell.

It may be necessary to character these two great men, whose Army did truly and really turn the scale of the whole warr at Marston-moore, tho' wee shall find afterwards another Head or Generall of it: Manchester being to be thrust out,

Sir Thomas Fairfax.

and Sir Tho. Fairfax, a man of a military genius, undaunted courage and presence of mind in the field both in action and danger, but of a very common understanding in all other affairs, and of a worse elocution; and so a most fit tool for Mr. Cromwel to work with, being thereunto to be chosen.

Earle of
Manchester.

The Earle of Manchester, formerly known by the name of the Lord Kimbolton, was a Gentleman of very good parts, and of very good education, both at home and abroad, and of a debonair nature, but very facile or changeable; and had the misfortune to fall into ill company, or else surely he had bin a very good man. He married the Earle of Warwick's daughter; and his own father, the Lord Privy-Seal, kept him but at hard meat; insomuch as his conversation with that gang of men, Sir Nathanael Rich, his wife's uncle, and the Earle of Warwick, his father-in-law, and the Lord Say, and the like, made him early appear a great zealot: and yet with all his good nature or the facility of it, he did as much harm, and as rigidly managed his power given him to reform the University of Cambridge, as the worst-natur'd man could have done. And therefore it was supposed, tho' he

he seemed the head, he was but the instrument of Mr. Cromwell, who made great ravage in all those associated Counties on the King's party.

I have no mind to give an ill character of Cromwell; for in his conversation towards me he was ever friendly; tho' at the latter end of the day finding me ever incorrigible, and having some inducements to suspect me a tamperer, he was sufficiently rigid. The first time, that ever I took notice of him, was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought my selfe a courtly young Gentleman: (for we Courtiers valued our selves much upon our good cloaths.) I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a Gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth-sute, which seemed to have bin made by an ill country-taylor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hatt was without a hatt-band: his stature was of a good fize, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his

O. Cromwell.

eloquence full of fervor; for the subject matter would not bear much of reason; it being in behalfe of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had disperst libells against the Queen for her dancing and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council-Table unto that height, that one would have beleived, the very Government it selfe had been in great danger by it. I sincerely professe it lessened much my reverence unto that great councill; for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I liv'd to see this very Gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by reall (but usurpt) power: (having had a better taylor, and more converse among good company) in my owne eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and dayly waited at Whitehall, appeare of a great and majestick deportment and comely presence. Of him therefore I will say no more, but that verily I beleive, he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things, which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another as succesfully and greatly performed.

After

After the rendition of Oxford, I living
 some time with the Lady Beadle (my
 wife's sister) near Huntington, had occa-
 sion to converse with Mr. Cromwell's
 Physician, Dr. Simcott, who assured me,
 that for many years his Patient was a
 most splenetick man, and had phansyes
 about the cross in that town; and that
 he had bin called up to him at midnight
 and such unseasonable houres very many
 times, upon a strong phansy, which
 made him beleive he was then dying;
 and there went a story of him, that in
 the day-time lying melancholy in his
 bed, he beleived, that a spirit appeared
 to him, and told him, that he should be the
 greatest man (not mentioning the word
King) in this Kingdom. Which his
 uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, who left
 him all the little estate Cromwell had,
 told him was traiterous to relate. The
 first years of his manhood were spent
 in a dissolute course of life, in good fel-
 lowship and gaming, which afterwards
 he seemed very sensible of and sorrowful
 for; and as if it had bin a good spirit,
 that had guided him therein, he used a
 good method upon his conversion; for
 he declared, he was ready to make resti-
 tution unto any man, who would accuse
 him, or whom he could accuse himselfe
 to

His enthu-
 siastick and
 splenetick
 temper.

to have wronged : (to his honor I speak this ; for I think the publick acknowledgments men make of the publick evils they have done, to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them.) When he was thus civilized, he joyned himselfe to men of his own temper, who pretended unto transports and revelations.

He became
the head of
the malcon-
tent party in
the busines
of the Fenns.

Now not long after the Earle of Bedford and divers of the principal Gentlemen, whose habitations confined upon the Fenns, and who in the heat of summer saw vast quantities of lands, which the fresh waters overflowed in the winter, lye dry, and green, or drainable ; whether it was publick spirit, or private advantage, which led them thereunto, a stranger cannot determine : they make propositions unto the King to issue out commissions of Sewers to drayn those lands, and offer a proportion freely to be given to the Crown for its countenance and authority therein. And as all these great and publick works must necessarily concerne multitudes of persons, who will never think they have exact justice done to them for that small pretense of right, they have unto some commons ; so the Commissioners, let them do what they can, could never satisfy such a body of men.

men. And now the King is declared the principall Undertaker for the drayning; and by this time the vulgar are grown clamorous against these first popular Lords and Undertakers, who had joyned with the King in the second undertaking; tho' they had much better provisions for them, than their interest was ever before: and the Commissioners must by multitudes and clamours be withstood; and as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell in the year 1638 at Huntington appears; which made his activity so well known unto his friend and kinsman, Mr. Hambden, that he in this Parliament gave a character of Cromwell, of being an active person, and one that would sitt well at the mark; and thus he is early joyned unto the most busy contrivers of the new intended changes.

One thing more I have to observe concerning his temper, that whilst I was about Huntington, visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he told me this story of his succesfull nephew and godson; that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had askt him his blessing, and that the few houres he was there, he would not keep on his hatt in his presence; but

He plundered
his uncle and
godfather,
Sir Oliver
Cromwell.

at

at the same time he not onely disarmed, but plundered him: for he took away all his plate.

The Inde-
pendents.

Now from his personall temper wee will reflect on the temper of his whole army; for they had all either naturally the phanatick humor, or soon imbibed it. But a herd of this sort of men being by him drawn together, he himselfe, like Mahomet, having transports of phansy, and withall a crafty understanding, knowing, that naturall principles, tho' not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of naturall and politick ends; made use of the zeal and credulity of those persons, teaching them, as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God, when he led them against his Vicegerent, the King: and where this opinion mett with a naturall courage, it made them the bolder, and too often the crueller: for it was such a sort of men, as kill'd brave young Cavendish and many others, after quarter given, in cold blood. And these men habited more to spirituall pride, than carnall riot or intemperance, so consequently having bin industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where naturall courage wanted, zeale supplied its place; and at first they chose rather

rather to dye, than flye; and custom removed fear of danger: and afterwards finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment, suitable to activity and merit; the lucrative part made gaine seem to them a naturall member of godlines. And I cannot here omit a character of this army, which Generall Fairfax gave unto my selfe, after the rendition of Oxford, upon a visit I made him: (for my wife was his near kinswoman) when complementing him with the regularity and temperance of his army, he told me, *The best common soldiers he had*, (for he himselfe was of a rationall temper, not phanaticall) *came out of our army, and from the garrisons he had taken in.* So (sayes he) *I found you had made them good soldiers, and I have made them good men.* But upon this whole matter it may appear, that the spirit of discipline of warr may beget that spirit of discipline, which even Solomon describes, as the spirit of wisdom and obedience. And I remember, what a sober friend of mine told me, that he replied to an old acquaintance of his, engaged with Fairfax, vaunting of the sanctity of their army and the negligence of ours: *Faith, (sayes he) thou sayest true; for in our army, we have the*
sons

sins of men, (drinking and wenching) but in yours, you have those of devils, spirituall pride and rebellion.

As we have thus character'd Manchester and Cromwell, so it may be necessary to take notice of Sir William Waller, who was a Favourite-Generall of the city of London; as likewise of Alderman Browne, a Woodmonger, afterwards for his civill usage of the King, whilst a prisoner, well thought of, and knighted, *viz.* Sir Richard Browne.

Waller.

Waller was a Gentleman of courage and parts, and of a civill and ceremonious behavior. He held a gainfull farme from the Crown of the butlerage and prizage of wines; but upon a quarrell between him and Sir Thomas Reynolds, a Courtier, who had an interest in the farme of the Wine-Licences, upon whom Waller having used his cudgell, and being censured and fined for it in the Starr-Chamber, and having a zealous Lady, who used to call him, *her man of God*, he engaged on the Parliament-side.

Browne.

Browne was a man of a clear courage, and of a good understanding, and very crafty, as his treaty with the Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, whilst he lay at Abington, will hereafter shew: he was Presbyterian in religion, as well

as

as Parliamentarian in civill affaires; but fell off from both at last. His interest in the City made his small flying body of men (for he moved sometimes alone) very considerable for their stoutnes, more than for their number.

Major-Generall Skippon was another Skippon. Favourite of the City: he was their Confident, when they were first poysoned in their loyalty; and was alwayes a guide in the Earle of Essex his army, and a high Presbyterian, and bred in Holland.

The year 1642 having thus begun the civill warr, (for the feaver then broke forth) the two years after, 1643. and 1644. brought the disease to its heighth or crisis, and in every part of the land there was too too plentiful a letting blood.

In this year in the encounter about Stafford was slain (tho' he dyed victorious) that most noble and stout Lord, the Earle of Northampton, by Sir William Brereton and Sir John Gell's forces; which was a considerable loss; for his person was very valuable, and he had bin bred with the King, being Gentleman of his Robes; and he had as much love to his Master, as loyalty. This may be said of him, that he faithfully served his Master, living and dead; for he left six eminent sons,

The fight at Stafford, where was killed the Earle of Northampton; with an accompt of his six sons.

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sons, who were all heirs of his courage, loyalty, and virtue; whereof the eldest was not then twenty. At the battell at Edgehill the eldest was absent, but Sir Charles and Sir William charged in the troop with their father. Sir Spencer, tho' not able to grasp a pistoll, yet in indignation cryed, that he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were. After their father's death, the young Lord had the same charge in the army his father had before, and was in all his rencounters forward, stout, and fortunate; and Sir Charles gave the like account of himselfe in the command of the Horse. Sir William signalized himselfe in defending Banbury Castle against a long and a powerfull siege; in which action he shewed much of an old soldier, (though a young man, never engaged before) in fortifying the place, cheering his men, and so ordering his provisions, that they served him to extremity, and untill he was releived. Sir Spencer soon applyed himselfe unto the service of our present King, and was as eminently pious, as courageous and knowing. Sir Francis was of so tender age, that he came not into play, till his present Majestie's happy restitution; but since shewed himselfe in the command he hath of a troop of horse
in

in his Majestie's guards here at home, and abroad in Flanders, equall to his brothers. Mr. Henry Compton, the youngest, addicted himself to his book, and made such a progress in all sorts of learning, that he was soon eminent; which he improved by his travells into foreign parts, and he entred himselfe into the military list; but the grave Prelates, conscious of his abilities to serve the Church, soon brought him into Orders; and his Majestie's value of the family, and of himselfe, made him a speedy passage to that high preferment he now possesses and (to the satisfaction of the Church, Court, and City) exercises at present, as Bishop of London.

In the same year the Earle of Newcastle got an important victory over the Lord Fairfax at Adderton-moor; wherein this is memorable, that when the day seemed lost on his side, and many of his horse and foot standing doubtfull and wavering; a stand or body of pikes, which being not usefull, where the two armies were strongest engaged, came up to the defense of their foot, and charged by Fairfax's horse, repelling them, gave leisure to rally horse and foot, and by the credit thereof entirely defeated Fairfax's army, and drove him and his

Battell at
Adderton-
moor.

S

scat-

scattered troops into Hull. This victory made the Earle seem Lord of the North; for from Berwick to Newcastle, and from Newcastle to Newark, all was the King's, and the cheife Nobility and Gentry engaged in his army, and severall towns and castles garrison'd for him; particularly the town of Newcastle, the city of York, and the Earle of Newcastle's own House, Welbeck; the Lord Frechevill's house, Staley; and the Earle of Chesterfeild's, Shelford; and that most important garrison, Newark.

The King's
forces in Lin-
colnshire, Lei-
cestershire,
and Shrop-
shire.

And at this time Mr. Charles Cavendish, brother to the Earle of Devonshire, was very prosperous with a small flying army in Lincolnshire; and Mr. Hastings, afterwards Lord Louborough, second son to the Earle of Huntington, was considerable, both in his garrison and small flying body about Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. Beaver-castle was likewise garrisoned, and many more might be named northwest, as Ludlow, Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, the Wyches, and so up to Chester: and in Wales Cherk-castle, and Mountgomery-castle, &c. All which is but mentioned, to shew, how universall the conflagration was; for the Parliament-party wanted not some forces in all those places to bal-

ballance, tho' not out-balance, the King's party.

In this year, in the West the King reduced that most important trading town, Bristol, which was garrisoned by the Parliament, and commanded by a Gentleman, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, who had more of the learning of the Gownmen, (whether wee consider them, as Lawyers or Divines) than he had of the sword; and who a little before had detected a conspiracy by the Sheriff of that city, one Mr. Yeomans, and Mr. Bouchier, and Dakers, and others to deliver up that place to the King: but he seized on them, and executed them; being forwarder to exercise an act of cruelty, than he was to shew, (when the place came actually to be besieged) an act of courage to defend it.

Bristol surrendered by

Mr. Fiennes,

The West was not managed to the best advantage; for Prince Maurice, being assign'd a Commander in chiefe, tho' he was a very brave Prince, and a good soldier, yet those countries hankering after the Earle of Hartford, or some great man among themselves, were not at first so plyant and hearty, as otherwise probably they would have bin. However, soon after the rendition of Bristol to the King, the brave young

Affairs in the West managed by Prince Maurice,

Earle of Hartford,

and

Earle of
Carnarvan.

Earle of Carnarvan, a Gentleman of an excellent spirit, (tho' formerly he had made use of his wit somewhat prophane-ly, which humor he now shook off, and turned into seriousness and extraordinary diligence) with that flying body he commanded, had rendred to him Portland, Weymouth, and Melcomb, who soon submitted, and became loyall: as unto Prince Maurice did the city of Exeter, the town of Barnstable; and indeed most of the Western counties in their inland parts became the King's.

Exeter de-
livered up
to the King.

Lynn sur-
prised.

Thus highly, even unto a miracle, considering his small beginning, did the King prosper both in the North and West: and this good success made the blood boyle even in the associated counties: for the town of Lynn was surprised for his Majestie by some of the Gentry there: but (his affairs not long continuing prosperous) was by Manchester soon retaken. But the issue shewed, that Providence made this dispensation, tending more unto the punishment of the Nation, than unto the resettlement of the Royall family. One (or the like) councill in both quarters, North and West, soon blasted the prosperity in each place; for the King

pitch

pitcht upon that fatall resolution, recommended to him, as it is said, by the Lord Culpeper, (who wanted no loyalty) of besieging Gloucester, and who thought it a good policy not to leave a strong town behind him. But the counsell proved fatall; for had the King at that time resolved in himself to have struck at the proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that time to have required the Earle of Newcastle to have joyned with him, (both armies being never in so good a state, and the countries, which they commanded, so free and secure) humanely speaking, he had raised such confusion among the two Houses and Londoners, that they had either sent him his own terms, or if they had fought him, most probably he had bin victorious. For the countries about London were well-affected to the King's cause; and many in London passionately wished for his approach. But henceforward it befell the King's forces, as it did the Israelites, who being discouraged by the greatest number of spies, would not march up towards Canaan, where they might have entered within two years after their exit from Egypt; but their refractorines losing them their opportunity, made them wander in the

Siege of
Gloucester.

wildernes forty years. Upon which, that good Historian, Sir Walter Rawleigh, makes this observation, *That the times of grace and of man's repentance have a sett appointment; or in plainer terms, Oftentimes divine Providence gives a man but one single season to lay hold on.* But the King fixes on Gloucester, and the Earle of Newcastle as fatally about the same time setts down before Hull.

Glocester was at that time held by Massey for the Parliament: but the King opiniating there too long, Essex at London gott up a strong army, in order to the releife of it; and the King upon his approach drawing off too late, his foot could not accompany his horse; so as vigilant and forward Prince Rupert, who was advanced with the horse, not willing to let slip the advantage he had in the open grounds about Aubern-chase, made so brave a charge on Essex's army, that he routed many great bodies both of their horse and foot; where, and in the next battell after at Newbury, the Lord Gerrard appeared eminent; and had the foot bin there, most probably they had made the victory entire.

Newbury
fight, where
were killed,

The King in the mean time hastening with his foot, possessed himselfe of Newbury, intending to hinder Essex's retreat

to

to London; which he projected to have done without fighting; but forced thereunto by a sharp engagement, made his way open: the country there being very advantageous for the service of his foot. Essex lost many more men, than did the King; yet making his passage open towards Reading, and some persons on the King's side, who fell that day, being much more valuable, than any, that were slain of Essex's party, the honour of the day seemed to belong unto that side. For here fell that brave young Earle of Carnarvan; who having chang'd much of his disordered course of life before, gave such evidences of repentance now, that had he liv'd, most probably he would have bin as great an example of virtue, as ever he had bin before of extravagancy.

The Earle of Carnarvan,

And here was extinguish't that fine flame, which made splendid that excellent soul of the Lord Faulkland, then Secretary of State, whose courage carried him too farr in this engagement: and here likewise fell that modest, courageous, and loyall young Lord, the Earle of Sunderland, whose family of Spencers was ever found in its root, and in all its numerous branches.

the Lord Faulkland.

and

the Earle of Sunderland.

Siege of
Hull.

And as if the same misguiding spirit had reign'd in the North, tho' the Counsellor thereof had much more reason to be suspected; the Earle of Newcastle sat down before Hull, upon the advice (it was said) of his Lieutenant-Generall, King. Upon a second dispatch from Oxford, I was then in the North with this great Lord; for it was then very doubtfull at Oxford, whether the Scots, who had now raised an Army, would march in, in behalfe of the King, or of the Parliament: for Duke Hamilton's intelligence made it very doubtfull; for like all the rest, he never read their true meaning, untill their design was not to be prevented: but thus cautious his letters were, that they most commonly doubted. The Earle of Newcastle's horse lying on the Lincolnshire-side of Hull, and he with his army lying before it on the North, I found him of a very cheery complexion, and hopefull to reduce that town. I went down to see his trenches and works, and found (the season having bin very wett) his men standing ankle-deep in dirt, a great distance from the town; so as I conceived, those without were likelier to rott, than those within to starve: and by assault there was not the least probability to carry it.

Upon

Upon my return to him, relating but faintly and modestly my thoughts, (for he knew I had not the least part of a soldier to warrant a discourse upon that subject) he merrily put it off, saying, *You often hear us called the Popish army: but you see, we trust not in our good works.* I returned to York, and not long after he found it fitt to draw off his Army.

About this time young Sir Henry Vane, and Stephen Marshall, the great archiepiscopall Presbyter, were got into Scotland, where the King's miscarrying at Gloucester, and this great man's at Hull, with some other advantageous propositions, like Jonathan's tasting a little honey upon the point of his wand, opened the Scott's eyes, and renewed their fainting resolutions; and they found, and said, *It was as reasonable for them to assist the two Houses of Parliament in England against the King, as it was for Queen Elisabeth to assist the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland against the Queen of Scots.*

The Commissioners sent into Scotland by the Parliament.

And now the Scotch Covenant must be fitted to serve both England and Scotland; and the English must swear to abjure their establisht Church-Government, before they had any proposed in place

Scotch Covenant imposed on England.

place of it. Here the Commissioners of the severall Nations endeavour to out-witt one another; and so the Scots must alter our English Church, according to the best Reformed Churches; (and that must necessarily be the Kirk of Scotland) and sly Sir Henry Vane adds according unto the word of God: and that would as tolerably propose for a pattern Independency. And thus they willingly cozened themselves and one another, and as many more, as would swallow this gilded pill. And as these tender men were farr from being scrupulous in breaking oaths, which they had taken themselves about things known and establisht by law; so they make no scruple to take new oaths, and to make others swear to maintaine the priviledges of both Kingdom's Parliaments: (which were things never yet, nor perchance ever will be defined) and the penalty of refusing this Covenant must be no less, than being declared an enemy unto Religion, unto the King's honour, and the Kingdom's peace, with the loss of all offices and places, and incapacity to receive any other in the future.

The Scots
march into
England, to
assist the
Parliament

About this time comes out of Scotland an advertisement from Hamilton unto the Earle of Newcastle by one Mr. Neal, (an intel-

intelligent person, and who managed all the affairs of Mr. William Murray) to warn the Earle of the Scots intention to march into England; and to leave it to him, whether he would not garrison Berwick and Carlisle in prevention of the Scots doing so. This smelt too rank with my Lord of Newcastle, who dispatcht away Neal to Oxford; but he replied to the Duke, that *this action would be against the Treaty, ratified by the Parliaments of both Nations upon the Pacification; and might give the Scots just occasion to complaine of the King, and so consequently just reason for their intended march.* But the Scots were not so scrupulous; for they soon after garrisoned those places; and if Hamilton had had a mind to have made any adventure for the King, (as there were great flutterings seemingly to do it; for under pretense of honouring my Lady Roxburgh's funeral with their presence, 1000 horse (pretenders to serve the King) mett with the Duke there, not far from Berwick-borders, but parted without any such resolution) it had bin an easy matter for them to have seized Berwick: and then peradventure not unfitt for the Marquis of Newcastle to have own'd them. But to say no more, all the Scotch endeavours

of

of the King's party vanisht into smoak, and the Scotch army marches unto the Parliament's assistance; and Duke Hamilton and his brother come post to Oxford to tell a fair, tho' a lamentable, tale. And Hamilton might justly thinke himselfe in no great danger, tho' guilty, when a Scotch army was in England, and joyned unto the English. But to Oxford he comes, and there the representations made of him unto the King, even by some of his own Country-men, conclude him guilty: but here the two brothers are distinguished: the Duke being imprison'd, his brother sett free. And not long after the King conferred his place of Master of the Horse on Prince Rupert; which he was prest unto, for fear, that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recozening him; which tho' the King charges him not with directly and openly, yet he seems not to disown.

The declension of the King's affairs.

From this time the King's affaires run all into the wain. The two Houses, who had the wealth and trade of London, had the strength in a manner of all England; for here was truly the Spanish West-Indies; and it made the case betwixt the King and the two Houses, like that betwixt the Venetian and a proud Spanish Ambassador there, who coming into their Arsenall, and seeing

seeing their treasures, and a massy chain of gold lying upon the ground, he turn'd it, and spurn'd it, untill they asked him, what he sought; *The root, (sayes he) it seems, is here above-ground with you, but in my Master's country it grows below.* Thus was London an inexhaustible fountaine, and such an hydra, that if it had one head cut off, there sprang up presently another; for about this time one Meldrum, a Scot, was intrusted with a very considerable body of horse and foot, to beseige that important garrison of Newark: which town gained, would have cut off all intercourse betwixt the King and the Earle of Newcastle. About that time Prince Rupert, who seemed the life of the King's army, was recruiting his own army, in order to the defense of the North, in Lincolnshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire, upon the Scots coming in: but the Newarkers importuning his Majestie, he receives positive orders in the first place to relieve that town; and before he marches thither, wee will make a halt in those Northern proceedings; and view, what the King and the Earle of Essex and Waller do here in the West of England.

About this time, it being about the year 1644, the two Houses being assured, that

Essex and Waller's progress in the West.

that the Scots were entring this Kingdom on their behalfs, they reckoned and made too true an account, that they had overbalanced the King's party in the North: for besides the Scots army and Fairfax's army, they had appointed Manchester and Cromwell to attend that service; and then strengthening Essex and Waller, they sent them out with two considerable armies to beseige the King, if he should stay in Oxford, or to fight him, in case they should draw him into the field, Prince Rupert being then absent. But the King taking a resolution not to be besieged, and amusing Waller by a strong party of horse under the command of the Earle of Cleaveland, a Nobleman of a daring courage, full of industry and activity, as well as firm loyalty, and usually successfull in what he attempted: he so bravely bearded Waller, that the King in the mean time, who had carried this design with all secrecy, with a well-selected body of horse and foot, marched out of Oxford towards Worcester; where the Earle of Cleaveland at a certain rendezvous joyn'd him; and Essex and Waller finding themselves deceived, and believing, that the King would march to joyn with Prince Rupert; and having no good intelligence between themselves, they

Earle of
Cleaveland.

they resolv'd, that Essex should march into the West, and Waller follow the King.

Waller was a man of more courage, and reckoned a good foldier, than of good fortune; for the year before he received a considerable loss at Land-down-fight, by the Lord Hopton, not far from Bath: tho' in that fight fell that excellent person, Sir Bevil Greenvill, a man of great integrity, courage, and interest in his country. But a small accident did great mischief that day to the Lord Hopton's party; for the greatest part of his ammunition took fire, and he himself was much singed and defaced by it; so as for want of powder he was forced to march into the town of the Devizes: which Waller coming to understand, he took courage again, and came to besiege Hopton there; and had not the King soon sent the Lord Wilmot and Carnarvan to releive him, he had not bin in a posture to defend himselfe. But here the King's forces at Roundway-down bravely charging him, gave him an intire defeat.

Land-down-fight, where fell Sir Bevil Greenvill.

Roundway-down battle.

He had not much better luck this year in the pursuit of the King; for the King understanding, that Essex was marched into the West, suddenly turns back upon him,

Croredy-bridge.

him, and at Cropredy-bridge (which Waller would have forced) the King defeated him. How it came about, most men were ignorant; but the Lord Wilmot, then Generall of the horse, was that day twice taken prisoner, and Sir William Boteler, (a Gentleman of extraordinary zeal to his Majestie's service) and Sir William Clerke, his Country-man, (of the same affections) by extraordinary service that day signalized their deaths.

The King's
march into
Cornwall.

The King after this victory immediately marches into the West, as far as Cornwall, and at Lifcard surprises some of Essex's cheife Field-officers: and having Essex's army at a bay, the King (still desirous of peace) sent to Essex a letter, that a generall peace might be treated betwixt them: but he denyed any such power in himselfe, and rather chose to desert his army, and from Salt-ash in a small boat to get to Plymouth, than to be instrumentall in so good a work. Thus stubborn can disloyalty make a man, that he shall choose to cast off naturall allegiance, to maintain unnaturall conspiracy. And the Generall thus fled, Skippon (Major-Generall of his foot) had articles granted him to march away with his men from Listithiel to Pool,

Pool, and from thence, if they pleased, to Portsmouth; but not to bear any armes, before they came thither.

Here the Lord Wilmot, who com-
manded the King's horse, was playing
another prank of accommodation and
treaty, and proposing the Prince of Wales
(tho' the King present) to bee the
Mediator of the peace; but the King
resolutely removes him from the head of
his charge, and places Generall Goring
in his stead; who certainly was as good
a soldier, as any the King had. But had
he in the beginning of this warr made
Portsmouth as defensible, as with the few
men he had, he for a time defended it,
most probably the King thereby had bin
Master of the West. But to shew the
infirmity of the government, this im-
portant town lay so neglected in its forti-
fications, and the Parliament having got
the King's navy into their hands, it was
the first town, that the Parliament by a
formall siege wrung from the King: and
now it is their sanctuary for their broken
army to march into. Here Goring, who
had turn'd wantonnes into riot, turn'd
riot into madnes: (which I mention,
because I beleive hereby the Townsmen's
good affections were lost; and to shew
Princes, that when they give way to the

L. Wilmot.

Generall Goring.

T vices

vices of their Commanders, tho' they be never so brave men, they seldom recompence their neglects by any future diligence; for a Prince must be an awe to all, that serve him, else he is a servant to their humor.) And this brave Gentleman had two Companions, that fed his debauch, but had not his bravery; that a carefull State would have removed them from him, or all three from future trust.

Failures in
Wilmot,
E. of New-
castle,

and

Lord Digby.

Thus had not the Earle of Newcastle affected an independency, and Wilmot not born too much kindnes to Essex, or Goring not favoured too much his own riot, the conclusion of this warr might have bin as glorious to their Master, as it was fatall: or had not the Lord Digby this year given a fatall direction unto that excellent Prince Rupert to have fought the Scotch army, surely that great Prince and Soldier, after he had releived York by the three armies drawing off their siege from it, had never so precipitately and ruinously fought them. But whether his directions were positive as he said; or an intimation only, that the King could have wish'd it, as the Lord Digby said; or whether it was the fault of the Lord Newcastle, that according to promise he came not soon enough out

with

with his men to the assistance of the Prince, falls not under my knowledge or intelligence. Sure I am, had the North this summer bin as succesfull, as was the West, (which we see probably might have bin) or had not Wilmot's unreasonable propositions and worse managing of it lessen'd the victory there, (for by that means Essex's horse, of about five and twenty hundred, brake forth, and freed themselves) the scale of victory had most likely turned on his Majestie's side.

Wee will now look back into the North, and mark the steps, by which that army was brought to nought, and the Generall thereof necessitated in a small ship to transport himselfe to Ham-
borough, as Essex had in a small boat bin forc'd to fly to Plymouth. The Prince, tho' it gave him great interruption, having received positive orders from Oxford, by the hands of Sir Edward Osborn, formerly under the Earle of Strafford Vicepresident of the North, (a Gentleman of great loyalty, activity, and prudence) to march immediately towards the releife of Newark, where the persons in it for loyalty and activity and for consideration in their countries, Nottingham and Lincolnshire,

The King's
army ruined
in the North.

Sir Edward
Osborne.

Siege of
Newark.

Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington.

were as important as the place; for had all garrisons bin managed, as this was, by that excellent person, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir Gervase Ayres, &c. and the large contribution belonging thereto so truly employed by the Governor, to keep up a full garrison; (which in too many other places riot or covetousness mispent) most probably the warr on his Majestie's part had bin much more succesfull.

Sir Richard Byron.

As soon as the Prince came before it, tho' the enemy were very strong and very well posted, and very resolute, (for Meldrum, a Scot, and a good soldier, tho' formerly highly obliged to the King, and his menial servant, in order to make way for his Country-men, managed this siege with great stoutnes and diligence) the resolution and bravery of the Prince, and the forwardnes and stoutnes of this garrison, whereof Sir Richard Byron, a person of great courage, and whose brother, the Lord Byron, was of a great name and reputation in the King's army, and afterwards Governour of Chester, play'd all their parts so well, that after a sharp engagement to the danger of the Prince's person, he releived that place; and with this honour (and it was great honour)

honour) retreated back into Cheshire and Lancashire to recruit his forces: where by the bye he releived that heroick Lady, the Countess of Derby, who had maintain'd for eighteen weeks at least her Lord's house, called Latham, against a close siege; but Fairfax and Meldrum had better fortune at Selby against Colonel Bellasis, now Lord Bellasis, (tho' he made a good defense) where he lay at an outwork or reserve for the Marquis of Newcastle at York; which by this time he was forced to quitt, and leave under the command of Sir Thomas Glenham, that he himselfe might march towards Newcastle to make head against the Scots, upon their first entring into this kingdom. But the cheife guidance of his army being under Generall King, a Scot, he knew so well, how to manage it, not knowing otherwise how to repress the English courage, that the Scots one while were beaten, and another victorious, till at last came to them from Hull a body of about 3000 English: many among them being stout seamen, that at a place called Hilton a considerable loss befell the Marquis of Newcastle's foot, and he immediately thereupon marched back to York. Not long after Fairfax joyns his army unto the Scots.

The Queen
removes to
Exeter,
where shee
was deli-
vered of the
Princess Hen-
rietta.

This storm made the Queen (who was ever more forward than stout) to remove from Oxford unto Exeter, where being with child, she was delivered of Princess Henrietta, and soon after embarques for France; for the two Houses had impeached her of treason.

York be-
sieged.

The Marquis of Newcastle about this time being coopt up in York, and besieged by three armies, Generall Lesley's, (or the Scots) Fairfax's, (or that of the North) and Manchester's, (or that of the associated counties) he was often very warmly assaulted; and he and his men as stoutly defended themselves, to the great loss and some considerable wasting of those three armies about two months; for he had excellent foot, and stout and resolute Commanders; and in this compact place Lieutenant-Generall King so demean'd himselfe, that as he shewed eminency in soldiery and personall stoutnes: so there appeared no want of loyalty; for now he fought not singly against his own Nation. By this time Prince Rupert with a very good army (Goring being joyn'd to him with the Northern horse) drew nigh to them, and was by them conceived so considerable, that they drew off, and quitted the siege. And thus

thus the Prince had done his work, if he had not thought fit to have overdone it. For contrary to the usuall axioms of warr in such cases, he took a fatall one; the mortall wound being here given to all the King's affairs; for ever after they did but languish, and were under the chirurgeon's hands. I have lightly mentioned the occasion of this resolution to be the unfortunate pen of the Lord Digby, who indeed was a well-accomplish'd Gentleman, and of great parts, naturall and acquired, and was now Secretary of State, and was as gallant with his sword, as eminent with his tongue or pen; but he had likewise so much of a Romantick spirit, and of such super-refined policies, that, as the Lord Bacon sayes, there are some things, which have more wonder in them, than worth; so as these eminences made him never prosperous either to himselfe or to his Master. But the Prince engaging thus unadvisedly in the plain of Marston-moor the third of July 1644. here unexpectedly the horse and part of the army, commanded by Goring, totally routed Generall Lesley, and the Lord Fairfax, who were both driven out of the field, and came not back to their army in two dayes: but the Prince's horse that day failing of

Lord Digby.

The battell
of Marston-
moor.

their accustomed valour, Cromwell (who had experience of what import a good reserve was in a day of battell) came and turned the scale : and tho' the Marquis of Newcastle's foot stood like a wall, yet he mowed them down like a meadow. So as Prince Rupert was forced to march off towards Chester with the debris of the army, about 6000 horse and dragoons ; and the Marquis of Newcastle, with the Lord Falconbridge, Lord Withrington, and Sir Hugh Cholmley, and many more, took shipping at Scarborough, and were transported to Ham-
borough.

York surren-
dred.

The armies sett down again before York : and after twelve dayes (no hope of releife being visible) Sir Thomas Glenham, who commanded in it, yeilded it upon honourable terms, both to his small forces, who were to march out with flying colours, bag and baggage, to Skipton in the Dales, and with advantageous conditions, in respect of their composition to the Gentry and Towns-
men there.

Thus all things conspired against this good, but unfortunate, King : for this last recited misadventure befell his affairs in a very ill period of time, when he himselfe had in the West defeated Essex's
army:

army: but the reputation of this Northern success made the two Houses soon recruit that again. So as before the King could march back to Oxford, both Essex and Manchester had opportunity to joyn themselves; and a second engagement at Bucklebury-heath near Newbury was entered into, where the King was again worsted; but drawing off his great cannon to Dennington-castle, he marched away to Oxford; which castle Essex presently besieged: but the King soon relieved it, as he did likewise Basing-house, besieged by Waller. After this follows a Treaty betwixt the King and the two Houses at Uxbridge; but they, who whilst their affairs were doubtfull, would not abate of their unreasonable conditions, had not then the humanity to make them more tolerable now.

Newbury
second fight.

As yet the Scots and Presbyterian party seemed to be the ruling interest in the two Houses, and the Scotch Covenant to be the idoll; and in order to get this form of Church-Service allowed by the King, Archbishop Laud must be taken out of the way, and his process made, and his condemnation pass'd, as hath bin before recited. But these bloody men were as near the end of their reign, as was the King; for the Independents gave way

Archbishop
Laud con-
demned to
die by an
Ordinance
of the two
Houses.

Treaty at
Uxbridge.

way to this Treaty at Uxbridge to amuse the Presbyterian with the hope of reforming the Church according to their model; and tho' the King offered here in point of the Church and Civill government such articles, as no reasonable men could have rejected; yet the Scotch Commissioners so thunder out their new-coyned terms of *Congregationall*, *Classicall*, *Synodicall Assemblies*, and so exalt them, that the King's Commissioners knew not, how to govern themselves, but by desiring to reduce the discourse unto what the other side had asserted; that the constitution of the Church of England contained somewhat in it contrary to the word of God, and to the prejudice of the Civill State; which Doctor Lany would have kept them unto the proof of; but they stormingly declin'd this. Then Doctor Hammond so readily, meekly, and fully refuted the interpretation they put upon all their texts, which they brought in behalfe of their Presbytery and Covenant, that their impatience and their prosperity soon made them resolve to conclude this Treaty. And the Independent laught all this while in his sleeve at both parties; for soon after, (wee being now come into the year 1645) he cuts the

the grasse under the Presbyterians feet,
and comes out with a new project of a
Self-denying Ordinance, for discarding
all Members of either House from all
gainfull, civill, and military employ-
ments: for Saints must not be selfe-
seekers, or men of this world.

Self-den-
ing Ordi-
nance.

By this they cast off Essex, Manchester,
Waller, Lord Gray of Grooby, &c. by
land, and the Earle of Warwick by sea;
and in a word, all that gang of men, that
first began the rebellion; and Sir Tho-
mas Fairfax is elected their Generall.
But as every rule must have some exce-
ption, so care must be taken, that Crom-
well, and Ireton, and, to please the City,
Presbyter Skippon must retaine their
charges in the army; and an Independent
army was soon found of spirit enough
to purge a Presbyterian House of Com-
mons; for it will not be long, before
wee find them doing as much, first for
Mr. Hollis, and Sir Philip Stapleton, and
those leading men there; and soon after
for the numerous body of them, drag-
ging them out of the House, to prove
the freedome of Parliaments, and driving
them from this City, from which they
had driven their King. But possessing
now the reall authority, they dispossess not
themselves of their usuall dissimulation,
and

The Parlia-
ment-army
new model-
led.

New Council
of State.

and therefore they made some compliances with their Council of State, where sate the Earle of Northumberland, who favoured the Independent, and where sate the Earle of Essex, who still countenanced the Scots and their Covenant; and which Council was throughout thus divided: nay tho' Cromwell in the House of Commons solemnly protested great obedience and fidelity to be in the army towards the Civill power: (for the King was yet in a condition to struggle) the Prince of Wales, attended by the Lord Culpeper and Sir Edward Hyde, being in the West, endeavouring to associate those counties, and to raise a new army, and the King at Oxford in a condition to leave that place (at least for a time) defensible, and to march northerly with a small flying army, they yet forbear to play those pranks, which thus early we have hinted will follow.

Fairfax's designe on
Oxford.

The Parliament having embodied a very considerable numerous army; the first resolve is to besiege the King, if he staid in Oxford; but the King resolving not to be cooped up in a town with a small, but well appointed, army, marches out from thence. Now tho' the King had understood both by his own intelligence, and from Goring, that this new

Inde-

Independent army, elated with their own prosperity, and their Masters, being grown weary of the warr, thro' the factions among themselves, were resolved to end all by some sharp battell with the King; yet the King, once out of Oxford, declined the counsel, which Goring gave him, of calling him with his Western army from before Taunton, and to have joyned his horse at least to himselfe. If the state of affairs had bin duly and fully weighed, a necessity lay on his Majestie to have kept all his forces close together, or to have bin in such a neernes for conjunction, as might have made one day the decider of the whole controversy; but wee still wanted some daring resolution, and so chose rather to dye of a hectic feaver, than of an acute one. For Goring had at least 2500 good horse, besides a body of dragoons; and a victory over these new men most probably (the old being so highly discontented) would have brought an honorable peace, if not means for a prosperous warr. But I fear our chiefe Commanders so little loved one another, that they were not fitted for conjunction. But Goring's proposition not accepted, the King marched as far as Chester, to releive that city then besieged; which releived, he
as

as fast marches back again; and by the way by assault takes in Leicester, which Fairfax (who now lay at the siege of Oxford) having intelligence of, immediately rises from that siege, and advances upon the King with a resolution to fight his army. Had the King had Goring in any neernes now, or at Chester foreseen, what he might want, and caused Goring to have expedited his marches towards him at some appointed rendezvous, (the necessity of such a conjunction being very obvious) such a prudence would have bin an evidence of a good providence. But the King coming so near to this so often and so lately victorious army, as Leicester was to Oxford, they so suddenly drew off from thence towards the King, that wee may say, that it was one of the first news, that he had of them, that they had beaten up a considerable horse-quarter of his at Naisby: Prince Rupert lying then at Harborough, where at a council of warr a resolution was taken of marching back, and fighting the enemy, who was most eager to fight the King. Many disallowed this advice, because it was so soon after a late ruffle given unto so considerable a party; and because if the enemy had followed them, they might have

Naisby-
battell.

have chosen their own ground, and made their advantages: but he that censures counsels, and is unacquainted with the true reasons, on which they were grounded; as he commits an error himselfe, so he leads others into the same. I penetrated the affair no deeper: and I give the best account I could learn from others of it.

The issue of the battell was, that Prince Rupert made so brave a charge, that he routed Fairfax's left wing, which was commanded by Ireton, who made a soldierly and notable defense. But Cromwell falling upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the left wing, (and in whose body there were some trivial, but pernicious, disputes, betwixt him and the Commander of the Newark-horse) that wing was soon routed; and then he applying himselfe unto the assistance of the main body of his army, which was then engaged with the King's main body, he entirely carried the day, and made a very great slaughter. And after this day, wee may say the King's whole party fell into convulsive fitts, or made strong motions, which were but indications of a dying body. For not long after, Bridgewater, and Bristol, and the Western garrisons fall into Fairfax's hands,

The sad issue of this battell.

hands: and Pomfret, and Scarborough, and West-Chester, (where the King received in person another kind of defeat, and where Lord Bernard Steward, then Earle of Litchfield, who commanded the King's Guards, was unfortunately slain) soon yeilded. And all places, like ripe figgs without pulling, fall into the eater's mouth: so disastrous are the consequences of a great battell lost.

The King
goes to
Newark.

And now the King, like a hunted partridge, flitts from one garrison to another, untill he comes to Newark; and there he meets with an hitherto unsuspected Governor, Sir Richard Willis, a Gentleman stout enough, and soldier enough; and one, who by the downright prooffe of the intelligence he held with Cromwell, when his present Majestie was abroad, might warrant a credulity, that the irreverence, he now shewed to his Majestie, flowed not from an ill intelligence with the Lord Digby, but from a disloyalty. And that which wounded the King most in this insolent action, was, that thro' the heat of passion and the ill understanding betwixt the Lord Digby and the Prince, the Prince was engaged to countenance Willis's insolence towards him. But so great are the transports of passion, that they

they too often blind very good understandings; and it was a very great impatience and forgetfulness of duty in the Prince; for the King's condition was properer to have begot compassion in an enemy, than to have raised neglect in so near a kinsman and dependent. But the King was so gracious and just, that he ever related this action, as passion in the one, and defection in the other. However the King removed Willis, and gave his charge to Colonel Bellasis: and the Prince, Willis, and Hawley retired to a neighbouring garrison, and sent for pass-ports from the enemy to transport themselves by. The Lord Digby hereupon at this time finding in how ill a posture the King's affairs were, and how ungratefull he himselfe was unto the soldiery, entred upon a romantick design with a small body of horse, to march into Scotland to the assistance of the Earle of Montross, that most brave loyall Scot, who to admiration did defeat so many of the Scots rebells, and clear so much of the country, that like Elijah's discovery of the true Church, where the Prophet thought, that there were scarce any true worshippers but himselfe, there were found 7000 knees or loyall faithfull in Scotland, who had never

Lord Digby's
design of
going into
Scotland to
joyn

the Earle of
Montross.

Lord Digby
defeated.

bowed unto Baal: which I set down for the honour of that Nation: and had his Majestie's affairs bin prosperous in England, such a sunshine would have discovered a great many more such worthy persons, who for a time lay as so many undiscernible atoms in that Northern air. But the Lord Digby's design (tho' he did perchance, as much as any man could have done) evaporated: for he is beaten at his entrance into Yorkshire: and before he got to Carlisle, defeated, and so forced to ship himselfe for Ireland instead of Scotland. Afterwards he followed his present Majestie's fortune beyond sea: where both among the French and Spanish Ministers he got speedily great credit; but being super-refined, held it not long.

His character.

He affected Astrology, which I take to be fatall to most, that do so; for it too often draws them off from duty, by supposing their destiny inevitable, and brings them in the condition of necessary animals, who were created to be voluntary agents. But his skill in this art failed him likewise; for it made him despond of his present Majestie's return, at a time, when he was near his restitution; and so changing his religion in compliance with Don John of Austria, he

he incapacitated himselfe for that publick employment or office of Secretary of State, which formerly he had held, and certainly would have had again. He held to the old distinction betwixt the Church of Rome and the Court of Rome, entitling himselfe to the first. But tho' he had formerly written very learnedly and solidly in maintenance of our religion to his kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby; yet after his change he never answered his own polemicks. And I heard from those, that were often with him in his last sickness, that it was not perceived, that he had either Priest of that creed or of ours to administer to him: yet he was observed to be very devout and frequent in prayer.

And now after all these disturbances at Newark; the King was forced to run the risque of a journey to Oxford: in which on the highway the Captain-Lieutenant of his own troop, one Turberveil, a good stout, plain downright, soldierly Gentleman, (under whom I troop'd for some time) was forc'd with a party of his men to engage the enemy, who were in pursuit of the King; and in this engagement the Captain lost his life, as well as some others of his common troopers. With this difficulty and danger the King got to Oxford, but soon

The King
returns to
Oxford.

perceived, that he could not long find security there.

French negotiations.

Throughout all these transactions the French wanted not their Ambassadors, Envoys, private Spies, and Agents among us. How well affected they were to the priviledges of Parliament, those Lords and Gentlemen know, whom the King would have accused, and brought unto a legall tryall, for corresponding with the French Ambassador.

Prince de Harcourt.

How carefull Prince de Harcourt was at Oxford, to perswade the King to agree with his two Houses, (his Master being so carefull of his own States) and to insinuate himselfe into their favour, by putting flights upon the King and his Ministers there; and yet willing to receive a present suitable to his quality, those, that knew least of the King's affairs, know this.

The King goes into the Scotch army.

How the Envoy, Mr. Montrèville, averred it in his Master's name, that if the King would put himselfe into the hands of the Scots, he should be there safe both in person, honour, and conscience, (I know it, as having bin design'd to be one, that should attend his Majestie thither) is certain; and that this assurance fixt him upon this resolution more, than any thing else, is unquestionable.

But

But improsperity is alwayes in confusion; and it was safest for the King to go unattended. So as in April 1646 the King puts himselfe into a disguise, and onely with Mr. Hudson (a Minister, as his guide) and Mr. John Ashburnham, Groom of his Bedchamber, as an attendant, he quits Oxford, and comes on a sudden into the Scotch army.

The King leaves Oxford, and goes to the Scotch army.

The two Houses understanding his departure from Oxford, and fearing, he was come up to London, they declare, that if any person should harbour or conceal him, or conceal his concealment, he should be proceeded against, as a traitor to the commonwealth, and forfeit his whole estate, and dye without mercy.

The Scots seemed surprised at his coming among them, and use him very courly, but yet with some shew of civility; and tho' Montreville averrs as before, yet the King complained, they had kept none of those terms he was promised. For tho' he was seemingly free, yet his person was under a guard, and for his honor this guard was not given him; because they permitted not the Magistrates to do their duty to him in those places he passed thro'; nor did they as much as admit his own necessary

How he is dealt withal by them.

The Scots
march away
with the
King to
Newcastle.

servants about him; and for his conscience, they that pretended to fight for their own, denyed liberty to his; he being not to be hearken'd unto in any proposition for peace, upon less terms, than the Covenant. The Parliament sends to the Scots, that the King's person might be disposed of, as the two Houses should direct. But Newark being surrendred by the King's command upon honourable conditions, the Scots march away with the King to Newcastle, and to please their brethren in England, they got his Majesty's directions for the surrendring the few remaining garrisons in England, as Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Litchfield, Ragland, &c. and the like they obtain'd for themselves unto Montross; but he good Gentleman was, ere the orders came to him, defeated by Lesley; so as the King had much ado (tho' he used therein the interest both of Hamilton and his brother Lanerick) to divert a process against him for his life, and to obtain, that he might be an exile; and this was the most he could do for any of his party, for whom he was ever much concern'd.

The King's
conference
with Henderson.

Whilst the King resided at Newcastle, passed that conference between him and Henderson about the order of episcopacy, and

and what obligation his Coronation-oath laid upon him. Which papers, being printed, shew his great ability and knowledge, when he was destitute of all aids. But whilst the King was thus employed, the Scots knew so well how to value him, that if it be not admitted, they sold him, it must be confest, they parted with him for a good price; for they are paid 200000 *l.* upon their marching from Newcastle, and delivering up of that town, as likewise Berwick, and Carlisle: and are promised 200000 *l.* more to be secured upon the publick faith. But if the English army had bin left to themselves, and the Presbyters had not then bin prevalent in Parliament, the Independent party would soon have shortned the taylor's bill. And thus were extinguished or thus vanisht those loud and publick assertions the Scots had made, *that they would not do so base an act, as to render up their Prince's person, who was come to them for safety in so great a danger; and that this act could not consist with their duty or allegiance, or Covenant, or with the honour of their army; it being contrary to the law and common practice of all Nations, in case even of private men.* Which Lowdon their Chancellor publicly made

The Scots
sell the King,

and

deliver him
up into the
hands of the
Commission-
ers of the
two Houses.

The King
now no
other than
a Prisoner.

profession of at a conference of the two Houses at Westminster. But at last silver outweighed all these considerations, and the King is delivered up into the hands of the two Houses Commissioners, and brought to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire, and denied his own Chaplains and Servants to be about him: (a true Presbyterian spirit.)

Now the remainder of his time, which was above two years, was to be spent in imprisonments and treaties, and that barbarous way of tryall, they put upon him for his life, by a mock High-court of Justice, which may be called the fifth stage of his life: wherein wee may observe, not onely what befell him, but what befell the first designers against him; whether they were the innovating Lords and Gentry, or the Presbyterian Ministers, or Assembly of Divines, or the city of London, or the chiefe Persons in the army of Essex; or even those particular servants of his own, who had bin spies upon him, and betrayed him, whilst they were in his service; and at last also the inspired seraphick Independent: and after his death, how the judgment run into Scotland and Ireland, and fell upon the betrayers of him, and upon the innovators on the constitution of

of Government in both those Nations :
nay at last , how it reacht the army it
selfe. And thus how every one of their
infidelities brought upon them and their
party a visible disappointment and judg-
ment from God, this present time well
knows, tho' the former could not fore-
see.

The Scots being marcht away from
Newcastle, the King is left in the hands
of the English Commissioners, who carry
him to Holmby-house, rather as their
Prisoner, than their Prince, and when
he came thither, he had neither the
attendance of his own domestick Ser-
vants, Chaplains, or Liturgy of the
Church ; under all which he very
unconcernedly and majestically depor-
ted himselfe, as being above com-
plaints or bewailings, as he him-
selfe was pleased to tell me. And tho'
he had from those Lords and Gen-
tlemen, that attended him, a respect,
which exceeded not his present condi-
tion, yet he passed it by; however he
distinguisht the duty of Sir John Holland,
Sir John Cook, and Major-Generall
Brown from those, who less observed
him; tho' even these had entertained
an office, which unbecame Gentlemen of
free minds. And for their Divines or
Chap-

The King at
Holmby-
house.

The Independent party, now prevailing, shew themselves.

Agitators.

Chaplains, the King used them civilly, and convers'd with them friendlily, as private men, but would not let them say so much as Grace to him; since they refused to officiate to him by the Liturgy; and this was his state there. But whilst the Ecclesiastick and Civil Presbyterian in the Assemblies and two Houses were thus acting upon him, the Independent Ministers and the army were as busy in their designs against them. For soon after, Goodwin, and Nye, and the rest of that Independent-gang, who not long before had dolefully, but seemingly, bewailed themselves, that they could not comply with the Directory and the new-intended model of Church-government, agreed to be set up by the Assembly of Divines; and therefore were they to be sequestred, nor knew they how to decline their calling, or quitt their country, do now on a sudden give a law to their late Rulers. The army, who a little before had bin voted to be disbanded, (and for whom Cromwell gave all the assurance under the asseveration, that he spake in the presence of God, that he knew they would obey) do now take fire, and raise a new sort of officers, who were chosen out of every regiment, and are called *Agitators*; and they

they frequently meet in council, and from Bury, the then quarters, rendezvous themselves about Newmarket. And at the same time the Parliament having voted the King to be brought up to London, they immediately send a small officer, Cornet Joyce, with a small party to seize on his Majesty's person at Holmby: (the Commissioners signified nothing: the guards at Holmby were not forward to make any resistance: the King required Joyce to shew his Commission, he shewed his soldiers; the King replied, *Believe me, your instructions are written in a very legible character.* Nay at Royston Fairfax and Cromwell wait on the King both together. He asks them, whether they commissioned Joyce to remove him: they deny it, *I'll not believe you*, says the King, *unless you hang him*) who executed his charge so well, that he brought away the King to Royston in the army's quarters.

The King seized by Cornet Joyce.

To make short work, the army purges the House of Commons: and the Generall and his Officers impeach in Parliament eleven of the cheife Members, who began all the innovations upon the King and laws, and were now, as the army charged them, overthrowing the laws; viz. Hollis, Lewis, Waller, Staple-

Eleven Members of the House of Commons impeached by the Army.

Stapleton, Clotworthy, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Nicholas, Ernly, and Long; and all this for things done by them in the House of Commons: tho' both Fairfax and Cromwell made it a great reason to rebell against the King, for his having formerly legally indicted in the King's Bench some of these Gentlemen, who were his subjects, for seditious words spoken in Parliament. Thus they think it no crime in them to impeach their Masters, (for so the Parliament was) for things said and done by them in the House. And after this, they demand the militia of London to be put into the hands of persons better affected to the army; and the Londoners are necessitated to plead their charters for the same from the King and his Predecessors; so as to their shame they, that had bin so desperately rebellious against the crown, now take sanctuary under it. And thus both Houses soon found, of how little value unarm'd authority is with an armed army; and they that were late agents are become patients, and are taught, that punishment is the anagram of sin, or may be read in it; for like Adonibezek, they that were lately cutting off thumbs and toes, are now the same way losing them.

In

of King CHARLES I. 301

In the conclusion, London humbly submits, and Fairfax and Cromwell march thro' it, and the eleven impeached Members are forced to fly; and Stapleton carries along with him, or met on ship-board with the plague, and dyes of it at Calais, to the great terror of his colleagues. And if this be not God's finger or his handwriting upon the wall, it is hardly to be reckoned, whose character it was.

The impeached Members fly.

The deep and bloody-hearted Independent all this while used the King very civilly, admit severall of his servants, and some of his Chaplains, to attend him, and to officiate by the Service-book.

The behaviour of the Independents toward the King.

They brought him first to the army to Royston or thereabout; then they remove him to Hatfield, the Earle of Salisbury's house: then to Latimer, and Woborn, and Causham, the Earle of Craven's house, near Reading; for as they removed their quarters, he was to change his. At Causham I had the honour to come into his presence, tho' I staid not there; but by all I could perceive either from himselfe or any other, he was very apprehensive, in what hands he was, but was not to let it be discerned. Nor had he given that countenance unto Dr. Taylor's *liberty of Prophefying*, which some

The King removes from place to place.

some beleived he had ; but that really and truly it was refreshment to his spirit, to be used with some civility, and to serve God, as he was wont, and to see some old faces about him. It is very credible, he did beleive, that the army would not be able to stemm the tide both of their old Masters, the Presbyterians, and of his own party, who were considerable and numerous, tho' then under the hatches, or lay under sequestrations. But tho' the army and its party were but an inconsiderable body to all those, that thro' the Kingdom were dissatisfied with them; yet they were the men, that had got the helm into their hands; which tho' it be one of the least pieces of timber in the ship, yet turnes the great beams or whole body, as the steers-man pleases.

At last
brought to
Hampton-
Court.

At last they remove the King to Hampton-Court, and there they permit him to be attended by persons, worthy of his presence : as James, Duke of Richmond, his near kinsman; a most excellent, loyall, prudent, and religious person; one who had attended his Majestie throughout all this warr, and lost therein his three brave brothers, the Lord Aubigny, Lord John, and the Lord Bernard, Earle of Litchfield; one at Edgehill, the

second

second at Alresford, and the third at Chester. And hither came that great man, the Duke of Ormond, and those two steddye persons to the crown, Marquiss of Hertford and the Earle of Southampton. The two Emisseries betwixt the King and the army were Sir John Berkley (now Lord Berkley) and Mr. John Ashburnham. The rest were, Dr. Sheldon, our now present Archbishop, and Doctor Hammond, then his Chaplains, and two or three of us scribling-men of the pen. Here I remember both the Parliament and the Army address to him; and it was that, which exercised all heads what to reply, or whom to please. The Parliament's propositions were in effect the same they first made to him at Newcastle; the armies seem'd to have more moderation towards him and his party. The one was thought more rigid; the other was feared more deceitfull; for when these two before mentioned Gentlemen (who moved betwixt the King and the army) were desired to declare, whether the army had given the King any such tye upon them, that if they proved unfaithfull, they might by some obligation they had given be proved perfidious, that so neither his Majestie, nor those about him might appear to the world too credulous:

no

no such thing could be produced. For Cromwell (wee need not mention Fairfax, who was but nominally Generall) tho' he made great professions towards the King and his party unto these two Gentlemen; yet he kept himselfe still in the dark, making it his great difficulty, rather how to govern his Agitators, that they interrupted not his own good meaning towards the King, than that he was in any backwardnes to procure reasonable terms for him. Thus being in the armie's hands, and the Houses propositions no better, and joyned in by the Scotch Commissioners, (for the Earle of Lauderdale and Sir Charles Erskin accompanied in the presenting them) his Majestie and those about him thought it most prudent rather to countenance the Army, than the Parliament. But no sooner had he done this, but Cromwell [good soul!] seems not able to withstand the torrent of these Agitators. Whereupon the King must be frightened, that these men would not obey the superior Commanders, and were like to seize upon his Majestie, and murder him: and Cromwell pretended the King's hearkening to the Scots made his army no longer hearken to him; but this was false; for the Scots were then rigorous to

their

their Covenant, which the King abhorred. If at any time they tempted him, it was, when he was a prisoner in Carisbrook-castle: but before that, I dare say he had not the least thoughts, that they would own him.

It came not within my knowledge, who gave the counsell for his flight, or what was resolved about it; but by one that did know it, I had it at that time communicated to me, before he went away, and perchance with too much imprudence. I could not concurr, for his making a mean (since it was like to be a dangerous) flight. But being carried off by Mr. John Ashburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Mr. William Legg onely; the next wee heard of him was, that he was in Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight, where his terms certainly were not beforehand made; for when the two first of the above-named Gentlemen had lodg'd the King at Titchfield, with the Earle of Southampton's mother, they acquainting that faithless man, (as he proved afterwards) Colonel Hammond, the Doctor's nephew, Governour of that Island, that his Majestie was in that neighbourhood, and that if he might be safe with him, he would render himselfe up to him; which he hesitating

The King
retires pri-
vately from
Hampton-
Court:

and goes to
the Isle of
Wight.

upon, they would have retired; but he would not let them both go, to advertise the King of that kind of insignificant complement he made; which was, that if he came thither, he would observe the Parliament's directions about him, unless Mr. Ashburnham would remain with him; and Legg onely to carry the message. But Ashburnham not readily offering himselfe, the Governour resolved to go in person to the King. Upon their return with the Governour in company, the King was much amazed, that upon so ill terms he was thus discovered; but now upon no further assurance he must trust himselfe with him. I never had occasion but once at the Isle of Wight to speak with the King about this affair; and it was by an accident, or the King's letting himselfe into that discourse: and he did but touch upon it, nor durst I seem to be more inquisitive. But when I mentioned, that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Mr. Ashburnham's guiding him thither, I remember, he freely replyed, *I do no way believe, he was unfaithfull to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time; (which I interpreted, his Majestie meant his not staying with the Governour) whom I never knew wanted it before.*

If it be lawfull to conjecture at an
 affaire of this nature, the choosing this
 place did not arise from a beleife either
 of the King or Mr. Ashburnham in the
 Governour, but from the failing of some
 ship there expected. But it may be ad-
 mitted, that they might think, the Officers
 of the army would be true to him, when
 his Person was out of the power of being
 apprehended by the Agitators. And too too
 probably his Majestie wearied with the
 thoughts of the French's having cast him
 into the hands of the Scots, who had used
 him no better, and of the unconcernednes
 of other Princes in his case, and of the
 Scotch and English Presbyterians remorse-
 lesnes towards him, like a sick man, he
 was willing to change his bed, and see,
 whether it would better his condition;
 and I am induced to credit this, be-
 cause the King had given his word to
 Cromwell, and his gaoler, Colonel Whal-
 ley at Hampton-Court, (and Whalley ^{Whalley?}
 was a ridiculous Phanatick, as well as a
 crackt-brain'd fellow, tho' he was a
 Gentleman of a good family, of which
 sort of men they had very few among
 them) and the King by Ashburnham very
 few dayes before his flight discharged
 himselfe of this engagement; which (if
 Whalley had not bin directed otherwise, he
 X 2 would

would soon have lain hold on him, (for he wanted not the rudenes or the ill nature) and have put it out of his power to have escaped. But if it were so, surely it was a fatall credulity, that, since during the whole time he was in their hands, the King's Ministers could never draw from Cromwell and his Officers (who pretended kindnes to him) any such promise of security under their hands or before witnesses: which if violated could amount to an accusation against them: afterwards, when he was out of their hands, he should freely put himselfe into their power again, which as it hath heretofore bin my amazement, now requires my silence.

The deport-
ment of the
severall par-
ties toward
the King.

For a time wee will leave him thus immured, and observe, how all parties in the future deport themselves towards him: and only relate, that whilst he was here, Sedgwick, a great Presbyterian Minister, came, and would needs expound to him part of the Revelations, and held him so late in the night, that the King civilly thanking him for his good will and pains, prayed him to conclude, and go to bed; for he must needs want sleep after such a journey.

The

The bloody Independents draw the curtain, and shew, how tragically their design had bin from the beginning. There are no words in the army, but that the King had bin a man of blood, and therefore must be prosecuted to blood. Cromwell and his officers seem much awed by Harrison and his zealots, and part of the army is in an uproar; but a mutining trooper or two being laid hold on, and let blood, and some lesser officers caltheired, this soon quieted that distemper.

The King desires, that he might be admitted to come up, and personally treat with his two Houses at London: the Scots countenance and assist that desire. But the resolution of the two Houses and Army is to send the King four Bills, which he should first grant, as preliminaries unto a Treaty. The effect of them was, tho' not in plain terms, to divest himselfe and his Heirs of the Militia by sea and land, and to lodge this power in the two Houses; with power to raise, what monyes they pleased to support it; and that the two Houses might have power to adjourne themselves, as they pleased. The consequence whereof is too well known to be descanted upon. The other two Bills were of no difficulty to have

The four Bills sent to the King, whilst in hold.

bin granted: viz. The recalling all his Majestie's former Declarations, &c. and incapacitating those Peers, made since his Majestie's quitting the Parliament from sitting therein. The Scotch Commissioners here highly oppose all this, and tamper with the King to do so likewise: and the Lord Lauderdale sends him a letter, intimating, that whilst he studied to satisfie all, he satisfied none. And thus this poor Prince is tossed from post to pillar, distracted by all, but really dealt with by none.

The Scotch Commissioners with the King at the Isle of Wight,

At last the Scotch Commissioners getting admittance to him in the Isle of Wight with the English, it is supposed, they gave him the assurance, that in his behalfe they would enter the kingdom of England with a good army, and this made him so unwilling to disown them: (as hath bin before taken notice of, even when their army under Duke Hamilton was defeated.)

In truth there was no way to restore the true peace of this Kingdom, but by returning to the same state, which they had before overthrown. But this was *durus sermo*; pride (besides many other considerations) making them too haughty to acknowledge guilt, and guilt making them too cautious to run into danger; and

and neither English nor Scotch Presbyters had so much confidence in each other, as to lay some probable design of opposing the army : (now the common enemy) nor had they a mind to incorporate with the King's party, nor policy or courage enough so to joyn with one another, as probably fortunately to oppose the armies conspiracy against both : (for the Presbyterians were subtile and resolute rebels against none , but the King) all which distractions made more for the security of the army , than did their own power. And therefore by their prevalence Votes of no further Addresses to the King are extorted from the two Houses, with a Declaration, that they will receive no more Messages from him. And the Army declares, that they will joyn with the two Houses in settling the kingdom without the King, and against him, or any other, that shall hereafter partake with him.

Votes of no further addresses to the King.

The undaunted indefatigable King's party and many new ones , who had never hitherto shewn themselves of that party, or had any share in the former calamities or dangers, perceiving no body would joyn with them, use their heads, how they might employ their hands in delivering their imprisoned Prince. And

Petitions to the Houses, for accommodating with the King.

therefore severall Counties by Petitions unto the two Houses accompanied by many, and subscribed by multitudes, own the King even in this calamity : for his cause made them commiserate his person, and his person made them willing to adventure themselves for his cause.

Several attempts to deliver the King.

The Apprentices in London have a rash transport of zeale, and meet in great numbers, and their word is, *For God and King Charles*; but being unarmed and undisciplined, are soon dispersed. Colonel Powel and Langhorn, who had served the Parliament, defect from them, and raise a cloud, which Cromwell had great apprehension of; for they were in Wales numerous; and Colonel Powel and Sir John Owen were both up at the same time; but Cromwell himselfe in one part, and some strong parties sent into other parts, rout all these. The County of Essex petition, that the army may be paid off and disbanded, and the King treated with. Surrey follows their example: but being interrupted, and pressing to deliver their petition, even in Westminster-Hall, and upon the stairs, that go up to the House of Commons, at least ten of the Surrey-men were wounded by the soldiers; so as this

usage

usage shewed, what right the House of Commons thought the subject had to petition them in numbers; and an inclination there was in most of the Counties of England to have done the like; but the usage of Surrey terrifies them.

About this time it is well known, that Duke Hamilton was raising a very considerable army in Scotland: whereupon the Commissioners of Derby-house, who were a body of the choise and select Members of both Houses, *viz.* the never-failing Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton, Roberts, Sir Henry Vane, senior and junior, Sir William Ermin, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Cromwell, Nathanael Fiennes, William Pierpoint, Oliver Saint-John, Mr. Crew, Brown, and Wallop, a mixt body of Presbyterians and Independents: all these sit as the Councill of State; and they had cajolled the city of London, and put it under Skippon's command to secure it.

The Scots raise an army to enter England.

Fairfax and Cromwell were then intending to march northward with their army; and being advanced a day or two's march, and no more; most unseasonably, and consequently most un-

The Kentish insurrection.

unluckily, the Kentish-men rise in so numerous and armed a body, that the army was forced to march back. Upon whose approach, and by ill conduct, it was not long, before they were dispersed; and Sir Charles Lucas, with the Lord Capell, and the Lord Louborough, and Sir George Lisle, were in the like posture in Essex, but not numerous, yet good soldiers; being about 3000 strong, with those few forces, the Lord Norwich brought over with him, as the debris of the Kentish army, whereof he had the conduct, and whereof he gave but an ill account; in which action his loyalty was untainted, but its ill success could not keep it from being vulgarly questioned. These Fairfax knew to be good soldiers, and therefore was very apprehensive of them. The Essex-men, tho' overpow'ed, and being but a handfull to the army, yet made a sharp dispute nigh Colchester in the open field or upon passages, and were beaten into Colchester; which they defended for some good time: and the weather being very rainy, it rotted divers of Fairfax's men; and had cost him more, had not the provision and shelter, the country brought in to him, made him so well struggle with that difficulty; and tho' the town

Colchester
Siege.

at

at last was yeilded upon condition of safety unto the prisoner's lives; yet barbarously they condemned Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, with a forrain brave Gentleman, Sir Bernard Gascoin, to be shott to death. The first two suffered, the last was pardoned. At this time likewise a good part of the Navy-royall under Captain Batten, formerly Viceadmirall unto the Earle of Warwick, revolted to the Prince of Wales, now his present Majestie, who with the Duke of York, (who not long before escaped out of England) and Prince Rupert, and divers other Lords, come on board him, and Sandwich, Deal, and other castles were yeilded up, and the Prince anchors in the Downs; and here he seizes on such merchant-ships as came in, and writes to the House of Lords to admit a Treaty with his Father: but standing in need of provision, when Warwick with another Squadron of ships came out, he was forced to stand over unto the coasts of Holland.

The Navy
returnes to
its duty.

The Earle of Holland at this time with the young Duke of Buckingham and his brave brother, Lord Francis Villiers, who shewed a true zeal and undaunted courage, and lost his life, when Holland and his party would abide no brush,
from

The Earle of
Holland's
rising.

from Kingston here in Surrey disorderly making a flying retreat, as far as S. Neod's in Huntingtonshire, were there meanly taken, and totally disperst: for which afterwards Holland lost his head.

The Scots
enter Eng-
land.

All this being so unseasonably acted in the South, which if it had bin deferred, untill Duke Hamilton had marcht into the kingdom with the Scotch army, and Cromwell engaged against him, it had certainly made a more considerable body for the King, than ever he had. This defeat, as it made way for Hamilton's destruction, so it may justly be said, he pulled it upon himselfe: for having incommunicable and clandestine designs, he concerted nothing with any of the English; who thereby judging his design onely Presbyterian, and so likely to grate as much upon his Majestie's honour and conscience, as all their former proceedings had done, and fearing, that the bottom of the design would be but some advantage to the Scots upon this nation, they thus precipitately throw themselves into the misadventures before recited. And now Cromwell marches against Hamilton singly; to whom by this time Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale being joyned, they had means to seize on

Ber-

Berwick and Carlisle, and they joyn themselves with Hamilton. Hamilton's army was given out to be 20000 foot, and 6000 horse; but when they came to their misfortunes, they said, that the Kirk-party had given them so many interruptions, that they march in but 10000 foot, and 4000 horse: whatever they were, they gave a very slender account, either of their bravery of courage, or solidity of conduct. Hamilton was the Generall, and the Earle of Calender (a man, I knew in Holland, of great repute for a very good soldier, being one of the four Scotch Colonels there) was Lieutenant-Generall, and Bailly was Major-Generall of the foot, and Middleton commanded the horse. The best body of men they had, they made no use of: (so powerfull is faction) for Colonel Monro, who came over to their assistance from Ireland, whose men were veteran and experienced soldiers, being unwilling to be commanded by Calender, was left behind about Appleby and those parts. Upon a long debate, after Hamilton's army had marched through Cumberland and Westmorland, at Kendall (as unfortunate persons do) they took the worst counsel, and resolved their way by Lancashire, and not York-

The Scots
march
through
Lancashire.

Yorkshire; tho' one country was known
loyall and unanimous for the King's ser-
vice, but was poor: (as having bin well
plundered formerly by the Scots them-
selves) and the other was a wealthy and
a numerous body, and very Presbyteriall;
with whom if the Scots had had any
private intelligence, the choice of the
way of their march had bin well ad-
vised; because the country was plentifull,
as well as cragged in some places, and
moorish in others: and so had they be-
friended them, Cromwell and Lambert's
opposition would have bin much more
difficult. But the army coming out of
Scotland without the Kirk's blessing, or
at least pretending to do so, and all their
civill affairs being there spirited by the
pulpits, there was not found that cor-
respondence between the English and
Scotch Presbyters in this march in be-
halfe of the King, which there was in
their first march, when they came in
against him. Lambert therefore, who
first gave interruption to this army's
march, had an easy task, especially having
Cromwell coming up after him: so as
he for some time rather harrasses this
army, than fought it; and let them ad-
vance, that they might have the longer
way to retreat home; and they made so
many

many severall and inconvenient halts, that the army moldred from day to day, and often separated their horse from their foot to their great disadvantage; and they were asham'd to go backwards; for such a dishonorable retreat would have brought them into contempt in their own Country; and if they did so, they were sure to be followed by Lambert and Cromwell.

Why, when all hope was lost, they retreated not home.

All the brisk fighting that was, was about Wigan, or rather near Preston: where Langdale with his English party, with great courage and no ill conduct, engaged with a party of Lambert's men; but not timely releived by the Scots, and overpower'd, and receiving some loss, was forced to a disorderly retreat into the whole body. At Warrington-bridge their horse forsook their foot, and their Major-Generall Baily was forced to capitulate for 4000 men, to lay down armes, and submit to mercy. And now, as a new-fashioned flight, Hamilton with his horse advances into his enemy's country, instead of retreating into his own, and receives a considerable loss about Nantwich in Cheshire; and so goes on stumbling, till he came to Utoxeter in Staffordshire, where he was taken prisoner himselfe so tamely, that it was not known, whe-

The English and Scotch armies encountered.

Hamilton taken prisoner.

whether it was by the country-troops, or by the Lord Gray of Groby, or by some of Lambert's Colonels, sent to capitulate with him: unto which last upon his tryall he intitled himselfe a prisoner, as most for the security of his life, which with all his shifting he could not save: tho' he remained prisoner so long, that at Windsor his Master and he are both prisoners together: and whom he saw carried away to be murdered, and not long after himselfe to be executed; *and what fruit think ye had he then of those things, whereof he was now necessarily to be ashamed?*

Affaires in
Scotland.

While this was doing in England, Argile was overthrowing Lanerick, and had besieged Sterlin-castle in Scotland; but Monro comes to the releife of it. And to shew, there was some truth in the opposition of these Scotch parties one against another, here a good party of Argile's men are slain. But Monro making conditions for the arrear of his own and of his men's pay, and for the accommodations, that were to be given him for the transport of his men into Ireland: whilst they were in small companies marching to the sea-side, the news came, that Carickfergus, Belfast, and Colrain, (his cheife holds in Ireland) were be-

betrayed by their own officers into the hands of Generall Monk, who then commanded the English army in Ireland. And thus providence blasted all the Scotch subtilties and interests, both in their own country, and in England and Ireland; and Cromwell comes in amongst them, (for from Wigan he marched forwards into Scotland, and left Lambert to worry Hamilton in England) and here he meets with godly professions, and hath Berwick and Carlisle delivered up to him, and is lookt upon as a *Liberator* of the Kirk.

Now when the King had no earthly hope, the Parliament seems to vouchsafe to admit him to a Treaty; and they send him Commissioners, viz. the Earles of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Lord Say, Mr. Pierpoint, Hollis, Vane the younger, Crew, Potts, Brown, and Buckley. The King was admitted to have the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earle of Southampton, the Earle of Lindsey, the Bishop of London Dr. Juxon, the Bishop of Salisbury Dr. Duppa, Dr. Sanderfon, (afterwards in this King's time Bishop of Lincoln) Dr. Henchman, late Bishop of London, Dr. Morley, after his Majestie's return Bishop of Worcester, and since

The Treaty
at the Isle of
Wight.

Y

Bishop

Bishop of Winchester, and some other Divines: Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Sir Thomas Rieves and Dr. Duck, Civilians: Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Oudart, and my selfe. But the King's Lords and Gentlemen onely stood about his chair, but were not to speak a word in his assistance; whilst he singly disputed with all the before mentioned able men upon the severall heads of their propositions. But if at any time the King found himselfe in need to ask a question, or that any of his Lords thought fit to advise him in his care to hesitate, before he answered, he himselfe would retire into his own chamber; or one of us penmen, who stood at his chair, pray'd him from the Lords to do so: but more liberty, than this, his attendants were not allowed. And I remember, on one day he over-did himselfe; and it was upon the great article, Whether he or the Parliament began the warr, and in effect at whose door the blood should lye? The King would have extinguished the whole discourse by Acts of Oblivion to both sides, or by taking an equall share: viz. by expressing, that jealousies had abruptly and unfortunately cast them both into this engagement, and by Acts of Indemnity

would

would have secured all. But where most guilt was, there was most difficulty to satisfy; and by no means they would waive the explanation of this article. The King retiring into his chamber, I took the confidence to step to my Lord Northumberland, and say to him, *My good Lord, remember, how gracious this good Prince hath bin to you, and do you compassionate his distresses and the strait, he is now in*: and he civilly, but positively, reply'd, *Sir, in this it is impossible for me to do any thing; for the King in this point is safe as King: but we cannot be so*. Two replies, which the King made to two Gentlemen that day, were observable: the one to a Gentleman, who is now a Lord, who prest somewhat upon him hardly: *A good nature, Sir, (says he) would not offer this you say; nor is it true Logick*: and then made another kind of ingenious reply unto Mr. Buckly, (who was a Gentleman of that Island, and now a Commissioner, when he pray'd the King to make right use of this Treaty, having promised him, that if a Treaty could be procured for him, the malice of the devil should not be able to break it:) *Consider, (say's he) Mr. Buckly, if you call this a Treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the Comedy; where the man comes out, and*

say's, there has bin a fray and no fray: and being asked, how that could be, why, (say he) there hath bin three blowes given, and I had them all. Look therefore, whether this be not a parallel case. Observe whether I have not granted absolute most of your propositions, and with great moderation limited onely some few of them: nay consider, whether you have made me any one concession, and whether at this present moment you have not confest to me, that tho' upon any proposition you were all concurrently satisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your superiors, you had no authority to concurr with me in any one thing.

*These were but the slightest passages of his Majestie's reasonings: for thro' the whole Treaty, managing all thus singly himselfe, he shewed, that he was very conversant in Divinity, Law, and good reason; insomuch as one day, whilst he turned the King's chair, when he was about to rise, the Earle of Salisbury came suddenly upon me, and call'd me by my name, and said, *The King is wonderfully improved: to which I as suddenly replied, No, my Lord, he was alwayes so but your Lordship too late discern'd it. The remembrance of these things is truly dolefull to me; and therefore I will quitt them the sooner: nor have I se**

down

down the particular heads of the articles, because both this and all former Treaties were but branches of the first 19. Propositions, which desired the King to lay down the scepter and the sword, the purse and the militia, and to change the whole frame of the Ecclesiastical government, and the disposition of all great Offices and other Regalia's and Prerogatives, and lodge them in them; or content himselfe with the name of King, and to entrust them with the office: which how tenderly they used in behalfe of the subject, after they had murdered him, the following story will have occasion to relate. Every night, when the King was alone about eight of the clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him; and he lookt over the notes of that day's Treaty, and the reasons, upon which it moved, and so dictated the heads of a dispatch, which from time to time he made concerning this Treaty unto his present Majestie, then Prince: and this Mr. Oudart, whose hand his Majestie used in those dispatches, transcribed. And I had my own papers, when the King came over, but lent them unto some hand, that never restored them to me, which hath blamed me much about this Treaty.

The King's
owne several
expressions.

Some few things, I remember, he said, which shewed those eminent Christian virtues in him, which were rarely to be found among any sort of men, scarce ever among Princes. For about the latter end of the Treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectuall, *I wish, (says he) I had consulted no body, but my own selfe; for then, where in honour or conscience I could not have complied, I could have early bin positive: for with Job I would willingly have chosen misery, than sin.* I never saw him shed tears but once, and he turned presently his head away; for he was then dictating to me somewhat in a window, and he was loth to be discerned; and the Lords and Gentlemen were then in the room, tho' his back was towards them: but I can safely take my oath, they were the biggest drops, that ever I saw fall from an eye; but he recollected himselfe, and soon stifled them. When he was prest by the Parliament-Ministers, to give way for a small Catechism for children; *I will not (says he) take upon me to determine all these Texts you quote are rightly applyed, and have their true sense given them; and I assure you, Gentlemen, I would license a Catechism at a venture sooner for men, than I would for children; because they can judge for them-*

themselves: and I make a great conscience to permit, that children should be corrupted in their first principles. And this was spoken unto Stephen Marshall, of whom I knew by a Gentleman, that was in the society of the Parliament-Commissioners, that he was a bloody man in those extemporary prayers, which in his course he then made unto those Commissioners: (and his sermons shew, how far he was from a true Christian spirit) for that Gentleman told me, that there was a great difference of spirit betwixt those prayers, which Vines, and those, that Marshall made. I remember one evening (when I waited on the King with the notes, that passed that day, and then sometimes he would ease himselfe by some discourse on the by) his Majestie told me, That he should be like a Captain, that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to releive him, he had leave to surrender it; but (he replied) tho' they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me, when they can: else I will hold it out, till I make some stone in this building my tomb-stone. And so will I do (says he) by the Church of England. Another time talking of the unreasonableness of the two Houses propositions about the Civill

*Hoc saxum
Manlius de-
fendit; hic
cecidit.*

government, Well, (says he) they will ask so much, and use it so ill, that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the Crown, where it is due; and I have offended against them more in the things I have granted them, than in any thing, I ever design'd against them. Whilst he was in this durance, Mr. Herbert said, he was wont to write on the backside of some papers these or some other verses of this nature:

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub Principe credit
Servitium: nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub Rege pio. — —*

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam:
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

These were the most materiall things my memory will serve me to recollect, (and God knows, I never intended to write an History or Observations upon it) of what he said during our short attendance on him in this Island.

Other matters relating to the King, mentioned by him.

Things of a lesser nature were these: that observing him to drink two parts water and one sack, I presumed to ask, how he came to leave French wine, he told me, *They afforded him not good, and then*

then he thought this the better brewage. Nay,
(says he) *whilst I have bin here among
them, I have wanted linnen; which tho'
I took notice of, I never complained of.* An-
other time he looking out of his Presence-
chamber window at Newport, I being
in the room, he beckoned me, and shewed
me in the street an old little crumpling
man, and askt, whether I knew him;
no, Sir, (said I) I never saw him before:
*I shew him you, (says he) because that was
the best companion I had for three months
together in Carisbrook-castle, where he made
my fires.* Methinks, because it shews his
disesteem of a common Court-vice, it is
not unworthy the relating of him; that
one evening his dog scraping at his
door, he commanded me to let in Gipsey;
whereupon I took the boldnes to say,
Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound
better, than you do a spaniell; Yes, (says
he) *for they equally love their masters, and
yet do not flatter them so much.* These
here set down, and some other passages,
which I came to understand by the Bishop
of London, Dr. Juxon, his Confessor at
his death, (which I shall mention, when
I come to that part of his end) make
me conclude with my Lord Bacon, that
he was a Prince of those eminent vir-
tues, which usually gaine not King's
re-

renown: For (says he) there are few, that can judge of or discern the highest sort of virtues; and therefore Princes are commonly famous by the middle sort of virtues: the highest being unintelligible unto the multitude. I shall conclude his story in the Isle of Wight with a reply to an advertisement, I gave him about the time the Treaty was ending. I prayed his leave, that I might utter my thoughts concerning his present condition in relation to his station in that place: and I told him, I understood the Governour usually prided himselfe in saying, that the person of the King was put into his hands by the Parliament; and that he would obey no directions concerning the same, but from the Parliament: Now, Sir, (said I) he is like to desire your leave to go up to them; but if you do, you know, how Major Rolph and other ill spirits of the army hang about this place, and what danger it may bring you; your Majestie therefore were best consider. The King replied, I thank you for your care; but the Governour is grown such a rogue, wee cannot be in worse hands. So I prest it no more; for (tho' not from himselfe) yet I had privately understood, he had at that time an hope to have escaped away by sea: but contrary winds and contrary fortune, or rather pro-

The King designs to escape by sea.

providence, made way for all that, which tragically followed.

My Lord Marquiss Hartford, the Lord Southampton, and the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Duppa, had desired for a fortnight or three weeks some leave from his Majestie to look after their own busines, till the Treaty should be reassumed; and I askt the like; (which I repented of heartily since) and I had the honor to go away with them in their own coach, and wee lay that night at Lettey-Abbey, which was near Southampton, an house of my Lord Hartford's; and about three of the clock in the morning, the wind sitting that way, those of the family or neighbourhood heard drums, and guns, and noises from the Isle of Wight; and too soon after, the sad news came, that Rolph that morning had seized on the King's person; and I never saw him more. But as Tully said, *When I think of dying, it is one of my comforts, that when I part from the dunghill of this world, I shall meet Lelius,* or King CHARLES, and all those faithfull spirits, that had virtue enough to be true to him, the Church, and the Laws unto the last.

This Rolph had before tampered with the Clerk of the King's kitchen, one

Dou-

Rolph seized upon the King.

The villainous designe of Rolph upon the King's life.

Doucett, to poyson the King; and one Osborn averred, that he knew, that Rolph intended to pistol him; for which being accused, he was indicted; but upon his tryal Serjeant Maynard going that circuit, declared in the Court unto the Grand-Jury-men, that this accusation, amounting unto treason, ought to have had two witnesses to each fact; but there was but one to each fact, and so the Jury found an Ignoramus. Thus usefull a great Lawyer is sometimes to a man of great guilt; and thus fortuitously about the King's death Maynard was engaged, and more designedly in my Lord Strafford's and Lord Capell's: but whether the same be his comfort or no, he best knows.

The King
seized on also
by Ewer.

This flagitious act upon the King in thus seizing his person by directions from the Army, (for Fairfax had bin wrought upon to give a warrant, whereby Colonel Hammond was commanded to give up the King's person unto Colonel Ewer; and Hammond pretended to go up to the two Houses, about this command, that he might be absent, when the King was seized on) wee may say was as disloyall to their own Masters, the two Houses, (for they by a vote
dis-

disown'd it) as it was to the King. For at the same time the two Houses were voting, First, that the late concessions of his Majestie at the Isle of Wight were a good ground for a peace. Secondly, That his Person should be in honor, freedom, and safety; and that his Revenue should be free, bearing the usuall publick charges; and that Acts of Oblivion should be prepared with such exceptions, as should seem fit to the two Houses. But they arriv'd not at this good nature either to the King or kingdom, until they discern'd their own impotency, nay mortality; for they perceived themselves as likely to be dethroned, as was their Prince.

Votes of the two Houses, in order to the settlement of the Nation, too late and ineffectuall.

The Army were now modelling a Government without a King, and without distinction of Lords: and therefore to prevent the conjunction of King and Parliament together, they resolve, that the King should be immediately disown'd, and his head cut off, and no more Kings acknowledged; that out of every county a choice person (that is, one of their party) should be selected to frame a new modell of Government, whereby the people of England should be acknowledged the sovereign power of this land, and other stuff of this nature. If this was not

The Army resolves to take away the King's life.

not to subvert the Government, and the old constitution of it, (and so high treason) I know not what can be.

The King
carried to
Hurst-castle:

Rolph removes in a rude and contemptuous way the King's person out of the Isle of Wight unto Hurst-castle, right over-against the same; a place, which stood in the sea; (for every tide the water surrounded it) and it contained only a few dog-lodgings for soldiers, being chiefly designed for a platform to command the ships. Here they keep him for some time; and now here at Westminster Colonel Pride and Rich's regiment, discharging those train'd-bands, which were a guard to the Parliament, supply their places, and guard them to purpose: for they immediately garble their Masters, and seize on at least forty Members, many of them coming unto the House, others dragged out, and carry them to severall nigh Inns, and keep them under guard: and then they accuse Major-Generall Brown and ninety others, whom they desired might be secluded from the House for having the last summer invited in the Scots. And this made a great breach in that whole number, and either awed or animated the rest.

The House
of Commons
garbled of
severall
Members.

Now

Now it was time, (for they drove like Jehu) to bring the King nearer to the place of his mock-tryall; and from Hurst they remove him to Farnham-castle, and from thence to Windsor. The two Houses thus purged, and the King then in their power, it is found a fit season for the Army to present its new modell of Government to them: which was done by Sir Hardress Waller and some other Officers: and an Address is likewise made, that the King might be brought to tryall. The Lords disown this way of proceeding, and deny, that the King could commit treason against the Commonwealth; and because they would not comply with the Commons therein, they adjourn their House for a fortnight; first declaring, that no Act of the Commons is binding without their consent, (and God knows, both together never bound the subject generally without the King's consent) but all now is to be turned topsy-turvy. The Commons as it were meeting with what they wisht, viz. the Lords adjournment: they presently reack themselves both upon the King and Lords; for instead of an Ordinance of Parliament, as they would have called it, they make a vote of their owne, digested into a form, which served to bring the King to tryall; for they would

Their proceedings, in order to the King's tryall.

New modell of government.

would not stay for the conjunction of the Lords with them; and so they defeat the Lords artifice, and make them by their adjournment to defeat themselves. Thus they proceed singly and alone, and not long after vote the Lords House as useless: and some of the Nobility, two of them, *viz.* Salisbury and Pembroke, old and obliged Courtiers, whose families owed both their honor and estates to the Crown, so degenerate, that they go down, and sit as Commoners with the lower House. But this act of these Lords was some time after the King's murder.

The King's
tryall.

By this traiterous and tumultuous body the King is brought to his tryall, and removed from Windsor to St. James's, and from thence soon brought to Westminster-Hall: where he finds a pretended High Court of Justice, consisting of a President, one Bradshaw, (heretofore a very meanly qualified Lawyer, but a bold and seditious person) and of Cromwell and most of his cheife Officers, and some of the King's own faithless servants, as Sir Henry Mildmay, the Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, and Cornelius Holland; (one that had bin Clerk of his kitchen, and was then of the Green-Cloth) the rest high-flown Parliament-men. These to make their proceedings the more so-

solemn, made their Serjeant at Armes in Westminster-Hall, the old Exchange, &c. to summon in any person, that would come and accuse the King: and then they break his great Seal, and make one of their own, impressing upon it the Cross for England and the Harp for Ireland on the one side; and the House of Commons, as the true sovereigne of this nation on the other: and these words about it: *The first yeare of Freedome, &c. 1648.* Before this sort of vile men this good Prince is brought: and injustice must necessarily sit on the bench, when justice is dragged to the barr. The insolent President bids the King hearken to his charge, and a babbling and brasen-faced Sollicitor, one Cook, accuseth him in the name of the Commons of England, and of all the people thereof, (which God knows was not one of a thousand) of treason: charging him, that by a tyrannicall power he had endeavoured to overthrow the rights and liberties of this people, and to defend himselfe in his traitorous practice, he had maliciously levied a warr: and so mentions severall of the battells, that had been fought, and many slaine: and how at that very time his Son was in armes, as likewise my Lord of Ormond in Ireland. The King smiled at the foule appellations

Z

of

of Tyrant, Traytor, &c. which they gave him, disownes their authority, and that of their commission: told them, *that he was even at that time in treaty with his two Houses in order unto a generall peace: as their Sovereign and King, he denied any authority to be over him, but particularly askt, how they came to assume it: bade them not go from one sin to another: told them, he was not unwilling or unprepar'd to answer for what he had done; but he would never answer to such a Court.* This for some time lay in dispute betwixt him and the President. The President seems to reproch him, that he had forgot his present condition, tells him, if he would not answer, they would take all *pro confesso*; and thus a day or two was spent. The King still telling them, *that he pleaded the cause of his people, as well as of himselfe: and therefore desired to be heard, and that power without law could make no law: and going on with his reasons, is interrupted by Bradshaw. The King bids him remember, that he denied to hear his King; askt him, what kind of Court it was, where reason could not be heard: he inadvertently, but with great truth, told him, that he should find it there.* The King told him, *that his authority was from the House of Commons,*

who

who were never a Court of judicature themselves, and therefore could not erect it.

But after all, these nefarious men, who thirsted after the King's blood, would now brutishly suck it: so they give sentence upon him to sever his head from his body. Which sentence passed on saturday January 27, 1648: and he is carried back by his Guard unto St. James's. In the passage to his tryall, he is mett and reviled by some, and tobacco blown in his mouth, and his face spitt upon by others. One honest soldier said but *God blefs you Sir*, and his Captain caned him; the King told the Captain, *the punishment exceeded the offence*. About the barr a numerous rabble cry out for justice against him, and in the Court he is saucily treated by all the Officers.

The King
sentenced to
be beheaded.

The King's deportment was very majestic and stedd; and tho' his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind. And yet as he confest himselfe to the Bishop of London, that attended him, one action shockt him very much: for whilst he was leaning in the Court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden; he took it up, but seemed unconcerned;

The King's
majestick de-
portment at
his tryall.

yet told the Bishop, *It really made a great impression upon him; and to this hour, (sayes he) I know not possibly how it should come.* 'Twas an accident, I confess, I my selfe have often thought on, and cannot imagine, how it came about: unless Hugh Peters (who was truly and really his Gaoler, for at St. James's no body went to him, but by Peters's leave) had artificially tamper'd upon his staff; but such conjectures are of no use.

Bishop Juxon at last permitted to attend the King, in order to his preparation for death.

The King's behaviour both before and at the time of his death.

Though he was brought to St. James's by saturday noon, and tho' the Bishop of London was in town, and by their own directions and upon his desire called thither to attend him in order to the preparation for his death; yet they admitted him not, untill sunday evening, tho' they murdered him on tuesday. The Bishop himselfe told me the manner of his reception. As soon as he came in, the King very openfacedly and cheerfully received him: the Bishop began to make some condolement. *Leave off this, (sayes he) my Lord, wee have not time for it. Let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom ere long I am to give an account of my selfe; and I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not* talk

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talk (says he) of these rogues, (for that was his term) in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more. And so for two or three houres the Bishop and he conferr'd together; and tho' they shut the door, a soldier would open it once in halfe a quarter of an hour, and see, whether the King was there, and so shut it again; and then the next day, which was monday, they spent much of their time together in like manner: and then they parted late that night, the murther being to be committed the next day. I have this comfort, that of himselfe, without any occasion to move him into the discourse, My Lord, (says he) *I must remember one, that hath had relation to you and my selfe: tell Charles, (for so he was pleased to call the Prince) he hath bin an usefull and honest man unto me.* He required Mr. Herbert, (a Gentleman, who was appointed to attend him, and who had bin very civill to him and whom he recommended likewise to the present King) to call him at four of the clock in the morning; and Mr. Herbert slept little himselfe, lying by him on a pallet-bed; but observed thro' the whole night, that the King slept very

soundly, and at his hour awak'd of himselfe, and drew his curtain. He soon got up, was about an hour at his own private devotions, and then called to be drest; and Mr. Herbert, who was wont to comb his head, combed it that morning with less care than usually: *Prethee, (says he) tha' it be not long to stand on my shoulders, take the same paines with it, you were wont to do: I am to be a Bridegroom to day, and must be trim.* Afterwards the Bishop came in to him, and they were together, untill Hacker led him thro' the park to Whitehall; and one of the Commanders by the way thinking to disturb him, askt him, whether he were not consenting to his father's death; *Friend, (says he) if I had no other sin, (I speak it with reverence to GOD'S Majesty) I assure thee, I would never ask him pardon.* When he was come to Whitehall, they conveyed him into a room, which is that they now call the *Green-chamber*, betwixt the King's closet and his bed-chamber, as I think.

The King
receives the
blessed Sa-
crament from
the hands of
the Bishop.

There they permitted him and the Bishop to be alone for some time; and the Bishop had prepared all things in order to his receiving the Sacrament; and whilst he was at his private devotions, Nye and some other boldfaced Ministers knocke

knockt at his door, and the Bishop going to open it, they told him, they came to offer their service to pray with the King; he told them, the King was at his own private devotions; however he would acquaint him. But the King resolving not to send out to them, they after some time had the modesty to knock again; the Bishop suspecting, who they were, told the King, it would be necessary to give them some answer: the King replied, *Then (says he) thank them from me for the tender of themselves: but tell them plainly, that they, that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, (and I'll thank them for it) pray for me.* When he had received the Eucharist, he rose up from his knees with a cheerfull and steddy countenance: *Now, (says he) let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo.* It was a very cold day, and they at Whitehall had prepared two or three dishes of meat for him to dine upon: but he refused to eat any thing; and the Bishop told me, he resolved to touch nothing after the Sacrament; but the Bishop expostulated with him, and let him know, how long he had fasted; how sharp the weather

was; and how some fitt of fainting might take him upon the scaffold; which he knew he would be troubled at, for the interpretation his murderers would put upon it; which prevail'd with him to eat halfe a manchet of bread, and drink a glasse of wine: and thus prepared, when he was called, he marcht to the scaffold; and a Gentleman of my acquaintance, that had so placed himselfe in Wallingford-house, that he could easily discern all that was done upon the scaffold, protested to me, he saw him come out of the Banquetting-house on the scaffold with the same unconcernednes and motion, that he usually had, when he entred into it on a Masque-night. And another Gentleman, whom I'll name, Dr. Farrar, a Physician, (a man of a pious heart, but phancifull brain: for this was he, that would have had the King and Parliament have decided their busines by lot) had gain'd such a place upon the stage, that he assured me, that as he had observed him before very majestick and steddly; so when he had laid down his neck upon the block, he standing at some distance from him in a right line, he perceived his eye as quick and lively, as ever he had seen it.

His

His speech before this unto the people (for me, who relate too many things, to be long upon any, to say no more) was very worthy of himselfe. This part of it became his great wisdom, when he told them, *They mistook the nature of government; for people are free under a government, not by being sharers in it, but by the due administration of the laws of it.* After having prayed with the Bishop, and by himselfe, he submitted cheerfully unto the providence, that was dispens'd unto him; but he took notice of some engines his murderers had made, that in case he would not willingly submit, they might by violence have pull'd him down; at which he smiled, as if he had bin contented, that they shewed the world the barbarity of their natures, and he the equanimity of his own. And indeed I had almost omitted one other evidence of it; for the Chapter of the day fell out to be that of the Passion of our Saviour; wherein it was mentioned, that *they led him away for envy, and crucified their King:* which he thought had bin the Bishop's choice; but when he found, it was the course of the Rubrick, he put off his hat, and said to the Bishop, *I bless God, it is thus fallen out.* At last he

The King's
speech to the
people wor-
thy of him.

Beheaded.

he laid down his head, strecht out his hands, as the sign, and the Executioner let drop the hatchet, which severed it from his body. And thus this Saint and Martyr rested from his labours, and follows the L A M B.

Another short
character of
the King.

I shall conclude with this, if it be lawfull to compare small things with great, his passion or manner of death most resembles that of his great Master; for like him, he was a King, and a King of that people, that pursued him to his death. He was a King, that resembled Seneca's refined rational man; one that forfeited with the vulgar, (or the many mistaking and deceived narrow minds) the repute of being a good man, that he might not lose to himselfe the conscience of being truly such a one. For his principles answered to true and solid reason, and futed with divine ordinances; and therefore he was (as in his History appears) owned by the persons of the best quality, and of most knowledge in his Kingdom, even when he was so far from being able to reward, that he was not able to protect either himselfe or them; and indeed his condition was often so low and despicable, that as Darius Codomannus said unto his loyall adherents, so he might have said

said to his, *You that never forsook me, (tho' I have bin twice overcome, and twice forced to fly) have bin the best evidence to my mind, that I remained King, or that misfortune could not de-throne me: so as God, not my selfe, reward you.* Providence made him glorious: great and good minds will honour him: ignorant not discern him: politick (who think a Kingdom should never be lost upon scruples) not value him: but GOD, I am assured, hath pardoned his faileurs, and crowned him for his piety and his sufferings.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS

AFTER

THE KING'S MURDER

CONTINUED

To the happy Restoration

OF

King CHARLES II.

MEMOIRES,
OR
REFLEXIONS
ON
The state of Affairs
AFTER
THE KING'S MURDER:
CONTINUED
To the happy Restauration
OF
King CHARLES II.

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M E M O I R E S,
O R
Reflexions on the state of Affairs
A F T E R
The King's murder.

WITHOUT further condolment, how inhumanely this good King was butchered, or how obscurely he since lyes interred; (I may say, not buried) wee will hence-forward consider, how prophetically he spake, when the first Reformers began to take the Government asunder, which he resembled to a watch, telling the tamperers with it, that it was easy to disjoynt the pieces, but hard to set them together again in good order: and so it proved.

The proceedings of the two Houses and Army after the King's murder.

These enterprizing men, that had disappointed all the policies of their first Masters; (for, as hath bin before expressed, there was no Party, but was deceived of their hopes; nor scarce any person, that began this busines, but it proved

proved fatall to him) thought now they singly moved upon their own center, and were ready in this heighth of prosperity, to conclude they should never be removed. Not reflecting, that as my Lord Northumberland, and my Lord Say, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Hambden, or the House of Commons and the House of Lords, thought it no sacriledge to usurp upon the King: nor Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, nor the Assembly of Divines, upon the Bishops: so a new super-refined and enlightned sort of men, Collonel Harrison and Rich, might think, they were as little restrained from snatching the prey from Cromwell and Ireton, and their Servant-Masters, the now garbled House of Commons. For tho' at first all seemed of a piece, yet it was not long, but a new spirit of Levellers, and a new spawne of Agitators, appeared to cut out their new Masters new work: (five thousand whereof Cromwell not long after scattered at Burford, they being betrayed by those, they most confided in) yet this spirit cut out work enough for him during his life, and at last deposed his son. The first thing then they do, is to proclaime against Monarchy, and the House of Peers; voting both burthensom and useles, and cancelling the
ensigns

ensigns of the Kingly dignity, and putting the like impressions upon their own new modell of Government or Commonwealth.

The next was, that Cromwell, freed from the fear of his Levellers, little regards the complaints of his dear brethren, the Scots, who now bewayle the King's murder, the Kirk's little reformation, and the Covenant's dying condition; but he casts his eye rather upon Ireland, where he knew, there was in chiefe command an eminent person, the Marquis of Ormond, at the head of a stout and loyall army. Which he conceived fittest for to grapple with, and to be made an occasion to divert the fury of his own army; which he saw would be too busy in England, if they were not employed abroad: and therefore having given directions for severely proceeding against all those, who had taken part with the late King, (so as not long after, Duke Hamilton, the Earle of Holland, and that excellent person Lord Capell suffered) he began his expedition into Ireland, where unfortunately, by too much confidence and too too much negligence, the vigilance and stoutnes of Jones, then Governor of Dublin, (who intended not much more than beating up a quarter,

Cromwell's
designe on
Ireland.

A a

and

The siege
of Dublin
raised.

Drogedah
taken.

London-
derry re-
lieved.

Limerick be-
sieged, where
Ireton dyed.

and hindering a small redoubt, then casting up) freed that city from its hopefull siege, and so scattered the Marquis's whole army; that it is lesson enough never to despise an enemy, or be too confident of out-guards, or suffer the body of an army to lye so loosely, as that, before they can be drawn together, they may be seized on by a panick fear. But in this prosperous condition Cromwell finds his affairs in Ireland, when he landed; and pressing on his good fortune, to strike the more terror in that nation, tho' that considerable town of Drogedah was lately reinforc'd by five and twenty thousand men, and a good soldier Governor thereof, Sir Arthur Aston; yet he takes it by storm, and puts both the Governor and all the Officers and the soldiers, and very many of the inhabitants to the sword: the Parliament-army in the north of Ireland likewise under Sir Charles Coot, freeing themselves from the siege of London-derry; so that in less than a year he subdued the whole force of Ireland; and returned leaving that Government under his son in law Ireton, who dyed at the siege of Limerick of a pestilential feaver; and who, as he was a man of blood, (for he had deeply dyed himselfe in the King's)

ex

expired with that word in his mouth,
(for in his raving, as I was told by one,
that was then there, he cryed out)
I will have more blood, blood, blood.

Thus so triumphantly and quickly
Cromwell returning home into England,
he had leifure to confider the Scots, who
were then treating and near according
with the present King, then in Holland,
and at laft they did fo; tho' they had a
great interruption in that affair by the
ignominious death, they had put Montrose
unto. For before the accord, he had taken
Comiffion from the King, in order to
raife fuch an awe upon the Kirk-party,
as they might not infift on unreasonable
demands from his Majeftie: and yet this
loyall Marquifs falling into their hands,
as a prifoner, tho' thus warranted for
what he did, they revengefully hang'd
him, and then quartered him, and fett
up his head in Edenborough, and divers
of his members in feveral principall
cities of the Kingdom. Notwithstanding
all which, a peace is concluded betwixt
them and the King, his title acknow-
ledged, and he comes over from Hol-
land, tho' with much danger at fea,
among them.

Cromwell's
proceeding
againft the
Scots.

At this time Fairfax layes down his
comiffion; for he, that had taken the

Cromwell
declared
Generall.

Covenant, was not to march against its place of birth. Cromwell is declared Generall, and is ready with a considerable army of about 16000 men to march into Scotland: which country after some time he had entered, and found the Scotch army strongly intrenched, and his own provisions failing him, he finds it not unfit to design a retreat towards Berwick to supply himselfe; but the Scots thinking they had an advantage put into their hands, boldly and in good order first with strong parties pursuing his rear, and then beating up his quarters wherein courage was shewn, on both sides, and little advantage gott on either: at last, nigh Dunbarr, the English having beat the Scots off from a pass or bridge which was to secure their retreat, the whole bodies of both armies came to an engagement; but the English having placed and made use of their cannon very advantageously, and secured a ditch betwixt them and the enemy, happily engaged with the right wing of the Scotch horse, who disputed it very well but at last were beaten; and their left wing as poorly quitting their ground the Scotch foot fell as a prey either to slaughter or captivity. And thus the great battell won, (for it cost the

Battell of
Dunbarr.

Scot

Scots at least 12000 men) not long after Leith and Edenborough it selfe fell into the hands of the English.

And now this rebuke falling on the Kirk-party, (for of that faction and dependence this army was composed; for they thought it was to unsanctifie them, to mingle with any other) they had argument enough *ad homines*, that success was not an evidence to evince the goodness of the cause: and therefore allegiance now must become a stolen wedge of gold or Babylonish garment; and the admittance of the King and his party into the land (tho' not then in the army) must be the reason, why God's people fled; and so both in his own person, servants, and party, the King is so ill treated, that from St. Johnston's he intended to have made an escape; but some of his own greatest and nearest English Attendants gave notice, where he was; and he is stopt, and was pleas'd to return. And thus the necessity of their affairs makes them think rather of more respectfully using him; and so at Schoon they crown him. And tho' all endeavors were to make all of a piece, yet a Kirk-party are not very reconcileable; tho' for a time they can dissemble as well as their neighbors: for it was not long,

The resentments of the Kirk-party.

The King ill treated by them.

before they divided themselves into distinct appellations; some into *Resolvers*, others into *Protesters*; and some considerable Officers (as Ker, Strauchan, and Lockhart) are found so enlightened, that they have more of Independent, than of Presbyter in them; whereby Cromwell gets great advantages. And not long after this, he pursuing his point diligently and resolvedly, to shew, what Hamilton with a little fidelity in the last King's time might have done, Cromwell with a small Squadron of ships, landing some men at Innerkeithing in Fife, cuts off all communication betwixt the King's army and the Northern counties; and this forced the King and his army upon necessity, not choice, to march into England; where Duke William Hamilton with so much fidelity and bravery appeared thro' the whole expedition; (tho' many of the Scots quitted the King in the march) and this army by the King's conduct and courage gave so good account of themselves throughout the whole march, that the *Reflexions* lay more upon the cowed English, who rose not to the assistance of their Prince, (at that time with a good body of an army in the kingdom) than on want of courage or conduct in the Scotch army; who

The King's
march into
England.

who resolutely made their way, as far as Worcester, and there fell fighting, like a stout and warlike people. But the error of this army was, like that of the late King's, that they tryed not their fortune in the direct way to London: for now rashnes or despair would have sooner bin interpreted wisdom, than caution or prudence; it being often more eligible to grapple with an imminent danger, than to prolong a certaine ruine.

In the King's march about Lancashire, the brave Earle of Derby comes in to him, and in a small time had raised a good body of men, about 1200 at least; and had he had more time given him, he would have bin soone considerable. But Cromwell had Argus's eyes, and ever watch'd a rising power; and so by a party under Lilburne nipps this early budd: and after a sharp fight overthrows the Earle with a considerable body of Gentlemen and Officers, and takes him prisoner; and not long after the King's defeat at Worcester, by a Council of War (tho' taken upon quarter) he is sentenc'd to death, and loses his head.

The Earle of Derby defeated,

and

Beheaded.

The King's escape from Worcester carries with it such a proof of divine providence, that (his gratitude being

The King
defeated at
Worcester,
and his after-
dangers.

suitable to it) it is no way to be doubted, but, as God gloriously brought him home, so he will make him an instrument of much good to his people. He is in danger in every element, yet saved in all. One while in a tree in the air; another by many by-paths and roads, and concealments in houses of the land. And (that we may see, how great things depend upon small) he had like to have bin betrayed by an horshoo; for a sagacious farrier, that was to remove a shoo, found it had bin well worn, and made by its turn in the North; and so gave notice, that this company were like to be of the King's train. Nor was the element of water much less favourable to him: for the Master of the vessell at Brightchemston in Suffex, who transported the King, coming at midnight for his bottle of aqua-vitæ, his wife suspected, that, he was upon a designe of transporting some eminent person; and so it fell under the secrecy of a woman; but it was a loyall one; for she encouraged him, and he gott his mariners from shore, upon pretense that his vessell was on drift; but with these difficulties he arrived at Roan in France, Cromwell in the mean time marching up with his prisoners, they were soon
fold,

fold, as slaves into the Plantations, whose nation not long before had sold their King; and Monk, being left behind in Scotland, soon takes Sterlin, and not long after surprizes the chiefe body of the Scotch Nobility, above 300 Noblemen and Gentlemen; among whom was old Generall Lesley, and who were pretending to raise an army to relieve Dundee, which, after Sterlin, Generall Monk had besieged, and where he found a very brave and stout resistance, and where the Governor thereof was barbarously shott, after quarter given, by a phanatick Officer, which troubled Monk very much.

After this, like ripe fruit without so much as shaking the tree, fall into their hands St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, and Dunbarton, and Dunnoter castle, and other towns and castles, in which were all the great spoil and riches they had carried from out of England; so as according unto their own proverb, *One was the day of the account, but another of pay.* And tho' the Northern parts some time after cost the English some paines and marches, because the Commanders were choice men, such as the Lord Glencairn, Sir Arthur Forbus, and Middleton; yet the very Isles of Orkney, the Hebr-

How soon after Worcester fight, all places surrendered.

Hebrides, and Shetland are reduced. And the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey near England, or rather Normandy, falling under the same fate, with the Barbadoes and American Isles in the West-Indies: all these submitting to Sir George Aiscough. And thus the new Commonwealth was entirely Master of all, that was under the old English Monarchy. And now who could think, that this power should be so soon shaken; when Holland, and France, and Denmark, and Sweden, all make applications, and desire the friendship of the prosperous? And yet we shall find a worm breeding in this gourd; and within seven or eight years, the true and exiled Heir, not long before forced to fly away in disguise, (the memory of whose father paved him a good way for his return) appearing in the greatest glory and lustre imaginable, and entertained with the greatest love and breathings after him, that could be evidenced by mankind.

A Commonwealth, and the sovereignty of the House of Commons.

The King thus murdered, his Heirs exhereditated, and the statutes of 1^o Elisabethæ, and 3^o Jacobi, which acknowledged the sovereignty of the King and his Heirs, repealed, a Commonwealth is sett up, and the Legislative part of the Government is declared in

the

the House of Commons, and the executive part in a Council of State; and the army appears servants to both, and yet were doubly Masters of both. For the chiefe members of the army were the chiefe leading men both in the House of Commons and Council of State; and therefore it's no marvell, that the first counsels were so stout and martiall; and that they were so apt to resent the least injuries from their Neighbour-States. After this their prosperity both in Scotland and Ireland, they consider, how their Neighbors bear respect unto them; and the first warr they make is with their elder-brother, Commonwealth, that of Holland, where their late Agent, Dorislaus, (tho' not by the natives) had bin assassinated; and to them they send Oliver Saint-John, Lord Cheife-Justice of the Common Pleas, and Walter Strickland, as Ambassadors; and they are to resent Dorislaus's death amongst other their instructions. But they themselves find such an irreverent usage from the common people there, as if the like fate might have befallen themselves, which they represented to their Masters, and they so resent it, that they call them home: and presently by an Act of Navigation prohibit the importing of any
fo-

Council of State.

Army.

Warr with Holland.

Act of Navigation.

Blake.

Van-Trump.

foreign commodities, except upon English bottoms, or such, as were of the country, whence the commodities came. The Hollander immediately sends over Ambassadors to divert the breach; but old injuries are remembred, and new complained of; and reparation must be made for Amboyna, and the herring-fishing forborn or bought; and the river of Scheld to Antwerp must be opened: so as terms of peace being not agreed on, acts of hostility follow. Blake comes out, as the English, and Van-Trump, as the Dutch Admirall: and they engage each other in Dover-road; and the flagg is denyed, and the Dutch are worsted, and leave the coast. This was in the year 1652. The same year Trump comes out again with 120 saile, and Sir George Aiscough being come from his West-India voyage, with not above fifteen Men of Warr, had like to have bin surprised; but Aiscough secures himselfe betwixt the castles of Deal and Sandown, where the wind blew so contrary to Trump, that he could not bear in unto them. And in the mean time Blake had spoiled the herring-fishing, and taken there some of the States frigats: as likewise others under the command of Trump, who were separated from his body,

body, whilst he was steering towards the Sound, whither he convoyed some merchant-men. But being no more succesfull, and his Masters and the populacy grumbling, Trump layes down his Commission, and Witten was appointed in his place.

Sir George Aiscough being afterwards sent out with a good Squadron or fleet, he near Plymouth is engaged with De Ruyter; but the rencounter was of no great importance: so as after some dispute both fleets drew off. For De Ruyter had secured his merchant-men, and Aiscough found it necessary to repair his torn fleet: but not long after Blake meets De Witt, and worsts him, but De Witt soon made his way home. And now the Hollander finds it necessary to call in the Dane to his assistance, who offers to furnish twenty men of war, so as Van Trump might be perswaded to reassume his charge. Nor were the engagements singly on our own coasts; but Captain Badily in the Mediterranean is with at least treble his number sett upon by Van Galen, and losing one of his ships, the Phenix, but saving the rest, he signalized his valour and bravery by slaying Van Galen in the fight: but Captain Cox not long after surpris'd and regained the Phenix, which

Ba-

Witten.

Sir George
Aiscough.

De Ruyter.

Van Galen.

Badily had lost. This year likewise Van Trump had a fourth combat, and worsted Blake near Goodwin's sands. After this Generall Monk comes from Scotland, and is joyned with Blake in the command at Sea; and about Portland they engage, where Lawson did excellent service: and this fight continued two or three dayes. In 1653 there is a new engagement, where Blake by reason of his indisposition of health was absent, and Monk commanded in chiefe; Pen and Lawson being his Vice and Rear Admiralls. And here that most renowned seaman Van Trump, true servant to the House of Orange, and friend to our King, was by a musket-shott slain, which made the Dutch retreat; and the English had bought their victory too dearly to pursue it.

Opdam.

Opdam supplies the place of Trump; but his Masters, the States, sought rather to conclude the differences by a peace, than by a renewed warr; and they lay hold of the first change of government, that was made in our new Commonwealth; for by this time the Officers of the army, especially Harrison and his Fifth-monarchy-men, pretending, Christ was onely to reign, and his government to be exercised by the Saints, new di-

distinctions are raised betwixt the people of the land (who were not promiscuously to be trusted with the choice of their own Representatives) and the people of God , who were both to choose and fill up the vacant places; and in such persons it was fit only to lodge the supreme authority, men fearing God, and of approved sincerity.

Upon this dispute betwixt the army and the Parliament , Cromwell, Lambert, and Harrison enter the House of Commons , and declare a necessity of their dissolution , and the sword-men determine the question ; Harrison pulling the Speaker out of the chair, and Cromwell commanding the Mace to be carried away , and the doors of the House to be shutt up, and the House to be guarded by soldiers, to prevent any further meetings. Cromwell knew all this was inconsistent with any government ; but that it would make for him at last ; and so he favoured the disorder, tho' he appeared disturbed , that there was a necessity of doing it.

The army purges the House of Commons, now to consist of Saints!

The Speaker pulled out of the chair:

And the next thing these men did, was to constitute a Council of State out of the chiefe Officers of the army, and the Factioners with them in the late dissolved Parliament: and presently they make

A new Council of State.

The Saint-
like Parlia-
ment dis-
solved.

Cromwell
chosen Pro-
tector.

make an ordinance for a ~~fix~~ ^{six} months
tax. The sum was lesse than the for-
mer assessments; so as that ease and the
necessity of obeying made the money
to be uninterruptedly and seemingly con-
tentedly levied. However at last they
call a new House of Commons of Saints,
and they prove so seraphicall and notio-
nall, that they are much more trouble-
som, than any former; which being
discerned, old Presbyter Rouse (then
Provost of Eaton) being their Speaker,
Cromwell so influenced him, that he,
with a packt party of the House, sur-
prizing them, declared their sitting was
no longer necessary: and so abruptly left
the chair: (the servant dissolving the
masters) and took the mace with him,
and march'd to Whitehall to Cromwell:
whilst Harrison sate still in the House:
but a party of soldiers soon disperst him
and his company; and within four days,
Cromwell is chosen Protector of the
Commonwealth of England, &c.

By these two last instances of Harri-
son's pulling the Speaker out of the
chair; and Rouse's quitting his own
chair, without any known authority, but
his own, and the subjects being generally
taxed by a Council of State, and their
pretended Representatives being thus
for-

forcibly dissolved; we may perceive, how sacred the priviledges of Parliament were unto these sincere Reformers, who had murdered their King, and made a bloody warr upon their fellow-subjects, upon pretence of asserting the liberty of the Subject and the priviledges of Parliament. And now subtil Cromwell by these tyrannicall zealots is made Protector of the three Kingdoms, and the Monarchy, which was so late abjured, is innocently (as they think) resolved into a single person with a much more arbitrary government; and the heads of the Instrument of the Government, (as they called it) drawn by the Military Officers, were as follow.

- I. *A Parliament to be called every three years.*
- II. *The first to assemble on the first of September 1654.*
- III. *No Parliament to be dissolved, till it have sate five months.*
- IV. *Such Bills, as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he assent not unto in twenty days, to be laws without him.*
- V. *That his Councill shall not exceed the number of twenty one, nor be less than thirteen.*

The new
heads of go-
vernment.

VI. *That immediately after the death of the present and succeeding Protectors, the Councill shall choose another, before they rise.*

VII. *No Protector, after the present, shall be Generall of the Army.*

VIII. *The Protector shall have power to make warr and peace.*

IX. *That in the intervalls of Parliament, the Protector and the Councill may make some laws, which shall be binding to the subject.*

All this comes in the place of *Magna Charta*. And here is a prerogative a people must bear, who would not endure a Starr-Chamber.

The last Article shews plainly, even in these men's judgments, that the authority anciently and formerly used by the Kings in making Proclamations, and requiring obedience unto Regall authority, in matters not contrary to the known and standing laws, was a necessary and constituent part of government; but this must be denied to the King, their Governour; and yet a power left in their publick Minister or Protector, in whom the sovereignty was not lodged, to make even laws in the intervalls of Parliament.

And the Protector, who was attended unto the Chancery-Court by all the Judges, Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, as likewise by the Army, in great state and solemnity, is to swear to the observance of this model of Government; and how well he performed it, the dissolving them before the time prefixt, and interrupting them even in their framing Bills, the following narration will declare; however, he swears in the words following, viz.

Cromwell
inaugurated
Protector.

I Promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contain'd in the Instrument, but to observe and cause the same to be observed, and in all things, to the best of my understanding, govern the Nation according to the laws, statutes, and customes thereof; and to seek their peace, and cause justice and law to be equally administred.

And now his vision is made good; for he was actually the best man in the Kingdom: (as best is used for greatest) but it deceived him; for tho' it made good what it promised, yet it fell short of his ambition, Kingship, which was his aime, and which by reason of the broken parties among themselves, he

could never attain unto. For, *there is no peace unto the the ungodly, says my God, but they are like a troubled sea, casting up mire*; or whose counsells can disturb all, but scarce settle any thing: and this alteration, we shall find, brings in him new counsells and new aimes in point of government both at home and abroad.

The Dutch
peace grant-
ed, in order
to Crom-
well's set-
tlement.

In this year therefore of 1654, the subtle Dutch perceiving, how inferior their ships were in point of building unto ours, (and the main body of our first and second rate ships, which in all the fights ever turned the scale, were those built by the late King) that they might get some time to better their navy, humbly and industriously seek a peace; which Cromwell would never have granted, but as he saw it might contribute to his singlenesship; or the settling him and his family in the throne, and the excluding the true Heir: (which may be thought a true ingredient in the following peace with France) and a peace is made both with Holland and Denmark. And now interest of State, which would be reckon'd degeneracy in a private mind, makes it wisdom in Princes, to worship any idoll, which is set up. And Spain, and France, and Portugall, and Sweden, as well as Hol-

Holland, and Denmark, (and indeed who not?) even the very Hans-towns also come in and congratulate. But we shall soon perceive that however selfishness is declaimed against, particular interest governs the world.

For now Cromwell devoyd of naturall affection unto, and not weighing the true interest of his country, makes his most near and secret confederations with France and Sweden, which we feel to this day; tho' perchance we run into the same error. This had almost made Sweden entirely Lord of the Baltick sea; tho' it was England's interest, that that dominion should be alwayes divided, or in a weak Prince's hands; for if it were singly in any one, especially in Sweden's, (who by the late Treaty at Munster was become a great member of the Empire) it must make that Northern Prince as considerable, as either of the two great Monarchies, France or Spain. And thus by the peace, that France made with England, and the assistance the Protector gave her, the French Monarchy took that footing in Flanders, that it forced Spain to the peace of Fontaraby, which made the match betwixt that young King and the Infanta of Spain: (who had the best title unto Flanders) which the French by

The impoliticke peace made with France and Sweden.

oath upon this Treaty disclaymed. But Interest of State dispensed with conscience, or cleared her from keeping that oath, as the since bloody, and yet prosperous, warr (on the French side) betwixt those two crowns makes appear; and tho' Spain be now backt with almost all the German Empire, and Holland, and Denmark; yet how likely Flanders is to be swallowed up, the English are now sensible of, and may give Cromwell part of their thanks. It was in this year, that the cheife rebels in the first massacre in Ireland were taken and executed, and shoales of them slain; for blood will have blood. It was at this time, when Generall Monk being sent into Scotland, Morgan first, and he afterwards, gave the defeats to Forbus and Middleton.

Monk sent
into Scotland.

The distress
of the Kirk
in Scotland.

This was the time likewise, when the Kirk of Scotland surely thought, that Antichrist was in his high; for from a Presbyterian-Ecclesiasticall-power they were fallen into a Lay-Independent's hand; for now the Generall Assemblies of the Kirk were interdicted by the soldiers: but by Argyle's intercession, who was as deformedly obsequious to Cromwell as he had been insolently rebellious against his late Majestic, the Presbyterians have

have leave to meet, but the wings of Excommunication are pinioned.

Monk thus settled in Scotland, tho' the eye of the world was upon Lambert's being design'd for Ireland, and he himselfe had made preparations for it; yet Cromwell's jealousie diverted it, telling him, that he himselfe could not want such a second in England, and Fleetwood, his son in law, is sent over Lord Deputy, thither.

Cromwell's
disappointing
of Lambert.

Fleetwood
sent into
Ireland.

And now, (tho' Christ-tide must not be observed) as if good fortune waited upon particular dayes, the third of September, which had often bin prosperous unto Cromwell's armes, (whereby we see superstition will creep in even among the godly) must be made use of for the meeting of his first Parliament; and the day must be tryed, if it would influence his Civil affaires, as it had done his Military: and the old trusty cloak-bag-nagg, Lenthall, (who had kept the chair, when sentence was given upon the King) tho' he was pulled out of his chair by Harrison in the last dissolved Parliament, must now be put in it again, and be the Speaker of this Parliament. But the other Members are not so conform and servile, as the Speaker; for they begin to question the authority they

Cromwell's
first Parlia-
ment, on the
third of
September.

sit by; and therefore are interdicted sitting, till they acknowledge it: which many Members not doing, long before the end of five months, the time secured by the Instrument, the Protector dissolves them. But still that is saintship in a Protector, which is tyranny in a King. For if the holy spirit rules in such men, and gives them the rule over others, neither perjury nor any other act of violence can amount unto a sin: and yet other enlightened men, even of the same tribe, and at the same time, as Major Wildman and others, set forth a Declaration of the lawfullnes of taking up armes against this great Potentate. But the great Leviathan laughs at these darts flung against him; and being now egged on by the French, and his own covetous, as well as ambitious, desire, he entertains a great design against the Spanish Monarchy in the West-Indies, and under Pen, as Admirall, and Venables, as Commander of the land-forces, he attempts that great Island, Hispaniola, which by ill conduct failing, and his men by change of air being become as it were moped and devoyd of courage, they are routed by an handfull of men, and forced to retire to their ships; but they recover resolution enough to take Jamaica, which

The expedition to Hispaniola.

Jamaica taken.

is

is an Island of some importance, and may prove a shrewd thorne in Spain's side. One Gage, a Priest, was a great promoter of this expedition; for the Saint-State-Ministers can draw water from a Popish cistern.

This success neither answered to the charge nor honor of the expedition: yet he keeps up his credit abroad, and Tunis, and Tripoli, and Algiers in the Mediterranean make peace with him. And tho' he was persecuting the old Protestant Church at home, yet he must appear forward to be Head of the Protestant religion abroad: and therefore he sends his Agents abroad in behalfe of the Protestants in Piedmont and Savoy; whom their own Prince, that Duke, at that time used with great rigor. This was in the year 1655. Active Mr. Downing and Morland are sent to Turin, and Dr. Pell, a learned Mathematician, to the Swiss; but the Protector's interest was not powerfull enough to effect their releife in this inland country, but as his new and strict confederate, the King of France, procures it for him; and to make the greater shew of his zeal in this work, he recommends a generall, free, and charitable contribution to be made for these poor sufferers throughout all this king-

Expedition
into the Me-
diterranean.

Protestants
in Savoy re-
lieved.

kingdom of England; and great summs were raised by it, but much more than ever came to their hands. For the men of these times, or their Publicans and Receivers of taxes, were grown very expert (notwithstanding all their faintship) to provide for themselves, when they should be cast out of their stewardship.

The inconsiderateness of the Cavaliers.

▲ Decimation of their estates.

Major-Generalls set up.

Thus the new Commonwealth or Republick being agitated, every change gives some false hopes to the restless and inconsiderate, tho' highly loyall, Cavaliers, who are projecting new risings: not considering, that there were some false brethren, many necessitous and futile among them; nor weighing, how weak oppositions strengthen usurpt titles; and this runs them all generally, *viz.* tamperers and those that were quiet, into one state, and their estates must be decimated, which to the full they paid: and a new sort of Governors must be raised (upon pretense of watching them, but really to bridle all parties) called Major-Generalls, who were Roytelets or petty Kings or State-mastives. There were eleven of them in number, and the whole kingdom was divided among them; and they lorded it over my Lord Northumberland and his followers, as

much

much as over any of our tribe of Cavaliers: and I do more than beleive, that most of us less respected or observed them, than he and the other Lords and persons of that party did; and yet wee were as much esteemed by them; for a steddý loyalty was not despised by these great ones. And however afterwards it fared with those, that retained it, if it would then have warped towards the present power, or changed its Lord, it would have found trust and encouragement here; for the world knows, that Cromwell used many artifices to gain them; and it is no vanity to say, that this numerous and considerable party in the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, were then so steddý to their principles, so regular in their lives, and so exemplary to all, (tho' there were some drinking Hectors intermixt) that they converted very many, and had they kept the same temper upon his Majestie's return, which they did to make way for his return, (to say no more) wee had certainly bin in a better state, than we are at present; but

————— *Sævior armis*
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur
orbem.

It

The second
Parliament.

It is too too often the misfortune of this poor Nation, that people cannot be long without a Parliament, nor well with it; and therefore in the year 1656 new writts go out for summoning a new Parliament; and tho' they are to meet in the same month, September, yet the third day is changed into the seventeenth. And here Sir Thomas Widdrington is Speaker; a man at this time wholly devoted to Cromwell; tho' for some time at first, he endeavoured to be reputed (but never got to be thought) a Royallist.

The government must now take a cordiall, that it might not be infected: least after the choice of Parliament-men, this Assembly might be suspected to have an ill breath; and therefore the Councill of State are to approve of the persons elected Parliament-men, before they sitt; by which means Cromwell kept out for a time those, that were disaffected to him. But this must not be interpreted violation of a Parliament in a Protector, or State, or Commonwealth, whatever it had bin in a King. And he passed laws to strengthen his authority; and they that sate, disannulled the King's title, and gave security to the Protector's person, and vote the Spanish warr to be con-

continued, and clipp the wings of the Major-Generalls, and recommend unto him as the best means to secure the peace of the Nation, to take upon him the Kingship: all which is called, *The humble Petition and Advice*: this last was an arrow, that very likely was pulled out of the quiver of Sir Thomas Widdrington, tho' it was headed by Cromwell's own ambition; for Widdrington was a good Lawyer, but naturally a cautious and timorous man; and he well knew, how great security the antient laws in being gave unto all actors, that moved under or with a crowned Head. But his own army will not endure it; and indeed there was no entire interest firm totally to him; neither the Presbyterian nor Independent Churches, less the Fifth-monarchy-men, and least of all the Royallists. For if there were union among any of the former, it was, because they all feared the true title; and tho' he had peace with this present Parliament at this present time, yet it was, because he had deprived very many of the most considerable Members of their right of sitting; and indeed at this time some desperate spirits of his own army, such as Syndercomb, Sexby, and others, had resolved to assassinate him.

Kingship offered unto Cromwell.

Upon

He refuseth
it.

He renews
his Prote-
ctorship.

Upon the whole matter, the great Hypocrite is forced to refuse the title of King: and then finds it fitt to adjourn his Parliament unto the January following. But lest the not daring to assume that title of King should be a diminution unto his authority of Protector, he (like an Anabaptist) retakes the same, or brings to the font again his fuller grown babe, the Protectorship, and with greater solemnity is reinstalled in that Office at Westminster-Hall: where he receives four emblems of government: *viz.* a purple-velvet robe, lined with ermines, put on him by the Earle of Warwick; a rich Bible with studds of gold, presented by Whitlock, Commissioner of the great seal, and a scepter and a sword delivered him by the Speaker. And now he modells his house, that it might have some resemblance unto a Court; and his Liveries, and Lacquays, and Yeomen of the Guard are known, whom they belong unto by their habit. His two daughters, gentlewomen of good virtue and modesty, are married to two noble families: one to the heir of the eldest son of the Earle of Warwick, and the other to the Lord Falconbridge, a Nobleman of great parts, and by his friends supposed not to have wanted

wanted therein an ambition to serve the King: (at least he said so:) he makes his youngest son, Henry, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his eldest, Richard, Chancellor of Oxford. His navys abroad are succesfull; for in the year 1656 his squadron under Admirall Stannier gaines a rich booty and victory over the Plate-fleet, wherein the Protector shewed some generosity by civilly treating and freely and without ransome sending home some young Noblemen, who had lost their parents and their portions in that rencounter. And in 1657 Blake's rash and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spanish ships in Sancta-cruz; where if the wind had not almost to a miracle veered about to bring him off, the Conqueror must have necessarily bin conquered. For as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it; so he had not bin able to bring off himselfe, unless the wind had bin thus favourable unto him.

His successes
at sea.

Nor were his forces less prosperous by land; but they served to sett up the greatnes of France, not England. For with the 6000 men he sent over into Flanders, as auxiliaries, those considerable places, Montmedi, St. Venant, and Mardike, are taken by the French; and the year

How he advanced the
French greatnes by land.

year following 1658, Dunkirk being be-
girt by the French forces, commanded by
Marshall Turenne and Schomberg, and
the English by our Morgan and Lockhart,
both valued much by the French, the
defeat was given to Don John, our Duke
of York, the Prince of Conde, and the
Marquiss of Caracena. In this battell the
English were the great instruments of
victory; and after this victory Dunkirk
it selfe was delivered up unto the French
King, and by his command into the
hands of Generall Lockhart for the
English.

These were the great actions, that
signalized the Protector's last years of his
life; and these were the great advantages,
that France made by the English, and
are her best excuses for her ingratitude
all this time unto our King; who by his
own good parts and abilities had, in a
nick of time, when Providence might
have flung that King into the same con-
dition our Prince was in, made himselfe
an happy instrument to resettle Paris in
its loyalty, and to divert the Prince of
Conde from the great changes probably
he might have made. Nor was Spain
decently gratefull to him; for he brought
over into that service a body of men,
who, tho' they were not numerous, were
very

How our
King served
both France
and Spain:
and yet how
ill required.

very valuable, and whom he had reserved for his own service, to have seconded some fortunate rising in England; and tho' he ventured them, and the persons of his two illustrious Brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, with the Marquis of Ormond, and other considerable Officers; yet Spain used him courselly, tho' they commanded him not out of their country, as did France and Holland. Such little prevalences have the virtues of the mind amongst persons dignified with the supreamest characters toward men of their own rank, if unfortunate. But nothing Cromwell could do abroad, procured him reverence or esteem at home; for here he could master no body, but the loyall and forward party of the King; and some of them every year fell a sacrifice to him; as the Marquis of Ormond had almost done, being here in London at that time to head a rising, which the Protector had discovered, and for some time cherished; but that reverend Divine, Dr. Hewet, and that loyall Knight, Sir Henry Slingsby, both at this time loose their heads.

How much valued Cromwell was abroad, and how little esteemed at home.

This Nation knew the Idol a pear-tree: and they would not bow down to it; and the most so abominated the usurpations of the old Kingly government, that they would never willingly submit

their necks unto a new forme. And indeed they had great reason : for every change was more arbitrary and tyrannicall, than the other, not unto them singly, but unto the subject in general. Tho' some of these things above mentioned preceded the time we are now in, and some followed the meeting of the next session of Parliament ; yet being all of a nature we have put them together ; and we may say, the refractoriness of this Assembly, which met again the 26th of January 1657. brake Cromwell's heart : for he being overperswaded by the Speaker and those Members in the last Session, who had then so submissively conformed to him, in this Session to admit those, whom he had then excluded ; and he having likewise affected to rear a distinct House from that of the Commons, in resemblance of the House of Lords, and which could never gett an higher title, than that of the *other House* : this weakened his party in many of the leading men of the House of Commons by carrying away from thence divers of his best Speakers, and those, who were refractory, and had rejected that honour of sitting in the new House of Lords, envying the others empty title.

The second
Session of the
former Par-
liament.

A Lords,
(or as they
called it,
the other)
House.

This

This Parliament had not satt above 15 Cromwell
dissolves this
Parliament.
or 16 dayes, when he finds himself ne-
cessitated to dissolve them. For they
call in question all that had bin done in
the last Session, by reason of the exclusion
of their Fellow-Members; and they held
his House of Lords in contempt, and
they were throwing down the pageantry
of the famous Petition and Advice. All
which so enraged him, (for his brain
really was grown a little hott, as was
Admirall Blakes, before he dyed) that
notwithstanding all perswasion of friends,
he takes an hackney, and hafts to his
Lords house, and sends for his Commons,
and acquaints them, that as he had taken
an oath to the Government, so they had
a like oath to him: (a doctrine, which
may be said most true and politick, but by
him forgot; when he was a subject.) He
told them likewise, that they were tum-
bling all into a confusion, and therefore
he had resolved to dissolve them. But
that which was thought to have pinch't
him to the quick, was, that he found,
that even his nearest friends were not true
to him. For Desborough his brother in
law, and Fleetwood his son in law were
in confederacy with Pickering and Syden-
ham, and others of his Privy-Council,
(whom he thought securest to him) to
C c 2 change

His discon-
rent and
chagrin.

change the government into a Commonwealth. And thus agitated some time before his death, he seems dispirited, and by the acquaintance I had with an old Gentlewoman, who made his broths and jellies, and other such cockering meats, I learnt, that for one while he frequently used these, and for another he took large draughts of wine; and he seldom awaked even in the night, but with one or other of these he must be replenisht. And sure these were better comforts to him, than the reflexions on his successes.

His Sicknes.

So as at last falling into a feaver, he soon fell into a delirium; and one of his Physicians, whom I was intimately acquainted with, assured me, that during all his sicknes, he was never Master of so much reason, as to determine any thing of his Successor or matters of state; and yet his fulsome flattering Divines and Friends, all gave themselves assurance of his recovery. In so much as Thomas Goodwin, in his sawcy expostulations with God in prayer, would tell God, that they ask't not for his life; for they were assured he had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they prayed for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things,

things, then of great moment to be dispatched. But all this while this poor Gentleman lay disturb'd in his head, and, as it was thought, reflecting upon a then-meeting of the Independent Ministers, that were assembled at the Savoy to sett forth their Articles of faith: for the most that he said was, *They must be satisfied, they must be satisfied, or else we all run into blood again.* And tho' it was pretended at that time by Thurlo the Secretary and Goodwin the Minister, that he gave particular directions to them, that his son Richard should be his Successor, and they brought in others afterwards to testifie the same; yet this Physician assured me, he never was in any such condition, as distinctly to know what he did. And thus on his beloved and victorious day, the third of September 1658. he expired *sicca morte*, ten years after he had spilt the His death. innocent blood of the King; and tho' he had run thro' so many dangers, and had so many plots against his life, and committed so many wicked and flagitious acts, yet he breathed out his last in his bed. But as if the elements, as well as men, had waited for this day, the day preceding there was as loud and great a tempest, as was at any time ever known. His interment not long after followed; and

it was with as much pomp and ceremony, as belonged unto, or had bin paid unto any King. And by this meteors extinction and the history, that follows after him, we may see, that the felicity, which is not grounded upon virtue, most commonly is but of short duration, unless it be fix't by that hand of providence, which usually deposes and disposes governments.

The giddy
and brained
sick temper
of the state
after Crom-
wells death.

And now after his death, as if God would poure out shame upon this Nation, such a spirit of giddiness appears, that our government seems to have the twisting of the guts; and nothing could pass in their new Politicks. For a flaw, even among themselves, is in his heirs title; and therefore Richard durst not be proclaimed Protector, till Fleetwood and Desborough (his uncle and his brother in law) were sent unto to know, whether they would acquiesce; because a former paper under Cromwells hand was known to have bin sign'd, which appointed Fleetwood to succeed him. But in truth, he was not in a condition to name his Successor, when it is said he did. But they declaring their acquiescence, the Heir goes to Westminster-hall in state, and takes his oath before Nathaniell Fiennes (Keeper of the great seal) to maintain the religion

His son Rich-
ard pro-
claimed Pro-
tector.
His oath.

religion and laws of the land, &c. And after that, acknowledgments of his power come from all places, the Counties, the Cities, the great Ones, the Army, nay Monk in Scotland, Sir Charles Coot in Ireland, and Lockhart from Dunkirk, all acknowledge and agree, since he was the great man, he was fittest to be the great man. Notwithstanding all this, he presently falls under suspicion with his army, who pretend, that he would bring in the King; (but he had no so good inclination, onely he had been formerly a little debauch't, and convers't sometimes with severall Cavaliers, and in his jovialty he would drink King Charles's health.) And his uncle Desborough (now a leading man) proposes Fleetwood to be Generall of the Army.

This made it necessary to call a Parliament: and Scotland and Ireland are to send their Members, and sitt amongst them, and Mr. Chute is chosen Speaker; who was a very able man at a Chancery-barr, and as ill (it is said) at collecting the sense of the House in the Chair. This was in the beginning of 1659. This Parliament was likewise to consist of an House of Commons, and the other House. The Officers of the Army, notwithstanding the Parliaments sitting, frequently

*The Scotch
and Irish sit
in the House
of Commons*

*The Officers
of the Ar-
myes Coun-
cil.*

meet at Wallingford-house, and the pretended Lords house appear to favour the Army, and to countenance their meetings; and the Commons House dislike it, and vote against it. Richard, and his Counsel, and his Parliament debate many things; but like irresolute and fearful souls, hesitate so long upon their points, that they loose the opportunity of putting any thing in execution; and Desborough at last, observing, how faintly their pulses beat, prevayls on (if not forces) Richard his Nephew to dissolve this his first Parliament.

The Parliament dissolved.

A new modell of government.

The inferior Officers of the Army appeare concerned in settling the government.

A Commonwealth is affected.

And now at Wallingford-house a new modell of government is framing; and Fleetwood is declared Commander in chiefe of the Army. But no sooner is this on foot among the chiefe Officers, but Dr. Owen get's together at St. James's Chappel the inferior Officers: (for all the Congregation was righteous, and Moses and Aaron take too much upon them, and Lambert countenances these) so as Fleetword, the Commander in chiefe, and Desborough must strike faile, and the Protectors chiefe Confidents in the Army, Colonel Ingoldsby, Howard, and Norton, &c. are discarded; and articles are proposed to oblige the succeeding Parliament to sett up a Commonwealth: but the Armys wisest friends

friends prevaile with them for not imposing this, as a condition of their sitting. But the Army, instead of calling a new Parliament, recalls the old Members in the long Parliament, which satt in the year 1653. when Harrison pulled the Speaker out of the chair, and Cromwell carryed away the mace; for the Army acknowledges, that till this time they had the presence of God among them or Shekinah; but that then they turned out of the way, when they turned these good men out of the House; and thereby they brought the *good old cause* into reproach. But notwithstanding all this, he that observes the Armies Declaration, will find, they promise these Members safety for their sitting, not obedience unto what they determined. This Assembly meet, and were called the *Rump*, or the taile of the long Parliament; but Prynne, Booth, and Rossiter &c. are seclused; notwithstanding this violation, all must be interpreted treading in the right way, and preserving priviledges of Parliament. And unto this Rump the Army makes a new address of propofalls:

That liberty and property be maintained according to the law.

That the law be so regulated, that it be not vexatious.

That

The Armies
Propofalls.

That there be a Gospell-preaching Ministry.

That none be intrusted with any share in the Government, that are not affected to it.

That Parliaments may not sitt too long, and a Council of State may be constituted.

And many other heads, that had bin before proposed, but often miscarried.

The speedy
downfall or
condition of
Cromwells
family.

But this onely body of men, (the Rump) tho' they dislike severall things of the Officers Petition, yet seem to approve all ; for they gaine this maine point, that the new Protector should sneakingly lay down his Commission ; and from 20000*l.* *per annum* (10000 *l.* whereof was to be an inheritance, and 10000 *l.* for life, and 8000 *l.* for his mothers life) all resolves it self into 20000 *l.* *per annum* for his subsistence ; and in conclusion that never to be paid : and he had warning given him to remove from Whitehall within six dayes. And they thought it fitt likewise to recall his younger brother, Henry, Lord Lievtenant of Ireland from thence ; who with the same meekness of spirit, as his brother, tamely lays down his charge. And thus the sons in their ambitions differed

fered from their Father; and the bonfire of straw or great blaze of Cromwells family is extinguishd, and buried in its own ashes : which if he could have foreseen, he would not have thought providence so much his friend, as during his whole life he entitl'd himself unto. Or indeed if the first Reformers, or rather Underminers, and all the successive factions, that followed after them, and which continued even unto this day in motion, had foreseen, how frustrate their designs, or how subventaneous or addle their eggs would have proved, *Vitasset cælum Phaeton*; surely they would never have scorcht their own country, and burnt themselves in those flames, they themselves had raised. But the deceit is, even those men, who have most integrity of thoughts, (without reflecting upon a selfe-ended designer; for he is a down-right knave) if strongly they affect any thing, and can justly complain of any small inconvenience in a matter settled, (which will never be wanting in any State, while men govern) they presently promise themselves, that whatever they project, shall come to pass; not discerning the ill consequence of what they have not experimented. But had the first Designers of our changes had grace to have considered the iniquity and obliquity

The disappointment to all the Innovators;

The incogitancy of most sorts of men in time of danger.

obliquity of their wayes, by laying their actions to the rule of the law, (for it is true principles, not warme inventions, which with God and wise men will denominate a good subject) they would not have bin disciples of the old Lord Say, who publickly in the House of Lords avowed to a Bishop (making use of that sentence, That evil was not to be done, that good might come thereof) that that was not to be understood in relation unto publick changes, but unto private mens affairs: or had they had this sobriety of thoughts, that it became wisemen never to overthrow one government, till they were assured, that all their own party at least would conforme unto what in lieu thereof should be sett up: or would yet the the vulgar or multitude of men, after the experience of so many ages in our Eutopia, (or country) at least have learnt to know, how the few crafty deceive the numerous rabble, and that one boy can drive a whole herd out of a plentiful pasture into a bare common, or into a butchers shambles, they would have endeavoured to have shaken off a scriptural phrase, which termes the multitude, The beast of the field: or would the cautious, sober, and discerning men, who will not concern themselves in the danger, till involved

volved in the misery, timely observe and withstand the art of Innovators, who sett up the strength of the multitude against the wisdom of experienced counsellors, (which is an incumbent duty both by Gods law and mans on them) the deformity of popular and tumultuous reformation would have appeared so formidable, that, as in the naturall body, the hand voluntarily exposes it self unto danger to save the head; so in the politick, it is the duty of every honest man timely to assist the tottering or undermined State; for we see, when the first opportunity is lost, the danger is seldom prevented. If any of these thoughts had prevailed with the men of this generation, they would very probably have early secured their own peace, and never have affected a reformation, but by ways of peace. The ignorance of one sort of men, and the indifferency of the other, makes this rather to be wisht, than hoped for in any age. Any of these thoughts might have preserved our old King, and our old laws; but the want of them dasht us against one another, and made us spend our strength and our treasure to secure false titles and imaginary principles.

The next scene is the Armys working upon it self, countenanced by the authority

The distemper of the Army within it self.

Fleetwood.

Lambert.

city of these Rumpers, whereof young Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Scott were the chief. Fleetwood was voted Generall of the army: but these Gownmen or Councillors of State are joyned in commission with him, to approve all commissions, that he shall give to any Officers. After this follows another twist of the guts; for Lambert presently becom's the great man of the Army; and yet is not intrusted in placing the Officers; for both he and all the rest of them are to receive their commissions from the Speaker, that they might learn, on whom to depend; and killing will still go by favour: for now the chiefe Officers, that were affected to Cromwell, or were suspected with Monk, are to be removed, and others of their own principles advanced. But this experienced brave old Commander, Monk, having received letters or orders about new commissions, he could read the character presently, and knew what it meant; and takes such notice of it, that he by his reply seems rather ready to lay down his commission, than his honor in having his under-Officers not to depend on him; tho' very probably he was machinating nothing less.

The

The Nation is disturb'd at all this, and seemed to have bin made the maygame of fortune. And therefore without the least reflexion in favor of the King, they appear all dissatisfied with this Rump of Parliament; and an hasty plott there was for a general rising in all Counties in demand of a free Parliament, or at least, that the Members secluded from 1648. should all be admitted to sitt, as well as others were, who were allowed by the Army. But vigilant Scott, and Haslerigg, and the watchfull chiefe Officers, had made a discovery of this generall designe by severall wayes; tho' an intercepted letter to a Lady is pretended to have given them the first knowledge of it. So as these Southern parts not rising at the time appointed, they soon disanimate the rest. And tho' a disposition and preparation thereunto was known in most parts; yet there was no appearance made, excepting a faint one about Rufford-Abbey, the Lady Savils residence, and a considerable one in Cheshire, and those neighboring counties, which were principally headed by Sir George Booth, but directed by some good Officers; and had they had time given them, or not a disheartning by the non-appearance of other counties, most probably, by what they

The Nation in general, disturbed with these frequent changes, demands a free Parliament.

The rising of Sir George Booth in Cheshire.

they did with a handful of men, it may be conjectured, what they would have done with those great numbers, which would have flockt in to them, had others done their parts. But this noble Lord (for so he is now) and his party thus disperst by Lambert, and the Parliament being freed from the fear of this dangerous and generally intended rising, they become more peremptory and positive in their commands on the Army; and the Army valuing themselves upon their good fortune and victory, they become less observant of their Masters commands; which the others perceiving, they draw over Monk or the Scotch Army to them, which Lamberts Army and his Party in London sensible of, they resolve to weaken this Army first by factions among themselves, to countenance which Lambert marches towards the Scotch borders, and there to improve his designe, as any emergency gave an opportunity. But here fortune, who had thus long smiled on him, now resolved to faile, and laugh at him; and so we will leave him for a time.

The standing
Army go-
vern's arbi-
trarily.

Thus whatever the constituent parts of a government are, if a standing army be in being, and be headed by a Cromwell or a Lambert, the government may well be reckoned to consist of army, as well as

King,

King, Lords, and Commons. For brutish power will soon rank it selfe with reasonable and legall authority. And thus we find the Pretorian Bands did among the Romans, one while setting up, and at another deposing their Emperors, and thus we see our Army hath done with their Masters thro'-out this whole unnatural intestine warr; for armys, as they are often necessary to maintain the peace of a nation: (at least good Guards; that the Princes's person may not be surpris'd by every tumultuous City, or rising in it; for two thousand of such men at first would have secured our late King and our peace) so when they are numerous, and have an ambitious Generall, or some mutinous, agitating, and levelling spirits among them, they will first disturb the power, they were rais'd to secure, (as ours did the two Houses their Masters) and then they will operate upon their own body: and Agitators must be Tribunes for the common soldiers; and if the chief Officers meet in council in one place, the inferior will in another; and the common man, if he please, will turn Leveller, and be governed by Plebeians. All which in our own story is evidence enough to shew, that if men will cast off the rules of subjection, which God

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hath

How rebellions breed factions, and how hard it is for factions long to keep close together.

hath prescribed, (who hath directed all to be under the authority of one, to the end there may be no diversity of commands) and will cast themselves into factions and parties, they then, and not till then, may be justly reckoned a nation divided against it selfe; and there can be no peace, where there is no steddines of counsel; or where factions are raised. For every faction is an opposition unto the standing law; and that will by some or other be abetted; and therefore no man can enter into such a society, as opposes this law, and be guiltless; and few there are, who do it, that are fortunate; whilst he that adheres to the law, may be disturbed in his person and estate, but is quiet in his mind, and by the goodnes of divine Providence most commonly finds some shelter in the storm, and by his integrity hath his root better fixed after it. For if men in legall and settled authority are most commonly maligned and envied, Intruders will be soon disobeyed and cast off: for every man will think, that as he hath as much right to set up a new form of government, as another; so he hath as much wit; and therefore one faction most commonly begets (as well as it is opposed by) another: and factions can never be true to themselves, because

because they have no certain rule to proceed upon. And thus if they begin all of one mind, yet they cannot continue long so; since every important action, wherein they receive any check, must force them to vary even their first principles and designs. In which changes they are unlikely to find an universal concurrence even in their own body; which runs them into subdivisions among themselves. All which, as it was the aime of these papers from the first to shew, so I mett with a book no longer, since than yesterday (May the 18th 1677. when I was thus farr advanced in this story, written by that learned Judge Hales, being reflexions upon the life of Pomponius Atticus, that I cannot but thus interlard some of his observations; because his authority, as well as his reason, may very probably prevaile with the men of this age, who are too apt to tread in the same stepps of their late Predecessors. In laying down this whole History, I am sure my intent is no other, than to warn the Prince, as well as the Subject, that if he would preserve his own peace and security, he must preserve his established religion and laws; and if the subject would claim the benefit of the law, he must lett it be expounded by the com-

mon usage, and the known expositions, that the Judges of the land make thereof; and not fly into a prevailing faction in a House of Commons, or in both Houses: or if he would have any thing altered, that he seek it in its proper place, and obtain it by its proper means; *viz.* a free and unconstrained consent both of Commons, Lords, and King: that they neither use fraud nor force to obtain their ends, but patiently wait, till such a conjunction of time come, as that they may obtain them by the due and legall means, which lead thereunto: nor vainly think, that men can live under any government, where there are no failures: and consider, that it is much better to bear the smart of an angry pimple, than to rubb it into a sore, and then apply such medicines, as draw down the whole humor of the body to that sore, and to raise such an inflammation, as may foul the bone, and begett a gangreen; and no gangreen is more mortall, than diffidence and distrust betwixt the Governor and the Representatives of them, that are to be governed. For that man, that is afraid of his own sword, dares not draw it to defend himself, least it penetrate his own bowells, and so he trusts his enemy, rather than his champion. The new experience of

this

this God avert from this Kingdom; and God grant, that the one give no occasion of this distrust, nor the other take it, or by causeless distrust draw it on him themselves.

But to return to our story. Haslerig acquainted with the confederation of the Army, presently stomacks it; and the Army is wrought on to make some submissive petition; which when it came to be penned, was a down right expostulation; for they desire, that whoever informed the Parliament against the Army, might be brought to condigne punishment: and that since no Army could be governed without a Martiall law, they might be fully authorized therein. They pretend, every freeman hath a right to petition, much more the body of the Army; and are answered, that then they ought to be very carefull of the matter of their Petition, that it be peaceable, and tending to the honor of the Parliament. And here is another twist of the gutts, and the Mercury, which must make way thro' this, is a private intelligence betwixt Haslerig and Monk. Monk promises to assert their authority, and to march into England. In the mean time to separate the soldier from his Officer, the leading Members of Parliament plott, and declare,

The process
or way of
management
of the jea-
lousies be-
tween Lam-
bert and the
Grandeess of
Parliament.

they are making provision for the payment of the arrears of the common soldiers; and that they would make assignations to them out of the estates of Delinquents (that is to say, the King, the Churches, and the loyall Subjects forfeited estates) as they called them; and least the army should raise money by their own authority, they sett forth, that whatever single person or aggregate body should raise money without the authority of Parliament, should be accounted a Traytor. Monk heartning them, these Parliament-men are the more resolute; and they are casting the Army into a new modell; and Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haslerig, Morley, Walton, and Overton, as Commissioners, are to have the authority of a Lievtenant-Generall; and this is countenanced by Haslerig's party. But Lambert's party meet to interrupt this, and they choose ten persons, as a Councel of State, *viz.* Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitlock, Vane, Desborough, Sir James Harrington, Major Salway, Colonel Berry, and Sydenham, and that insinuating Scott, Archibald Johnston; and these men have that black designe of really confiscating all the estates of the Kings party, and disposing them into the hands of their own: nay some

The danger
the Kings
party was in.

said,

said, of massacring the chiefe of them. Which resolution, tho' in a Christian Common-wealth may seem very dismall; yet it is not to be expected, that the powers, which by injustice have raised themselves, being in danger, should spare others, and preferr their security before their own. And History makes it plain, that in most places, where natural policy prevailes, proscriptions, and confiscations, and even death it self follows suspected persons and neutralls, as well as opposers; tho' these outrageous proceedings never long prospered: divine providence usually punishing such cruelty with such misadventures, as the actors of it could not foresee, or would not believe, till the whipp was upon the back.

Things were grown now to that highth, that Lamberts party will not let the Parliament men meet, but stopps the very Speaker in Kings-street in his passage to the House, and makes him return: and the Regiments face one another, but have so much witt, as to forbear acts of hostility: and yet all this both on one side and the other must be interpreted a maintaining of the priviledges of Parliament; but the consequence of this was, this Parliament mett no more. And now the Men of the Armyes party raise a

A new model of Government.

Committee of Safety of twenty three persons, to execute all the powers of the late Council of State ; and changes come on so fast, that (as an English man) I am ashamed to mention them. But sagacious Monk all this while steddily proceeds, and lets the Army know by a courteous letter, how dangerous it was to displace Officers with him, but by sentence of a Court-Martiall, or by the authority of himselfe, as Generall; for otherwise the inferior Officers would be apt to affront the superior, or to withstand the civil authority; and he privately intimated to some of the Parliament men, that if they would resolutely assert their own authority, he would justifie it; and this animates them to proceed in displacing those disaffected to them.

Monk abetteth the Parliament against the Army.

His Character.

And now his great sagacity and good fortune come upon the stage to perfect the last scene; and he was a man cutt out to do such a work. For he was a Gentleman of a good birth and blood; for his Ancestors were derived from Arthur Plantagenet, naturall son to Edward IV. by Elisabeth Lucy, his Concubine; which Arthur married the daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, sister and heir to John her brother: the rest I leave unto the Herald; (and so none was more proper

to restore the Royall line, than he, that had this consanguinity with it, tho' much time hath elaps't since) He was a person of a naturall and intrepid courage, and who had made the sword his profession, as soon as ever he was able to weild it: he was bred up under great Captains, and very early taken notice of by that great Prince and Soldier, Henry of Orange. He was a man of deep thoughts and few words; and what he wanted in elocution, he had in judgment; and he had a naturall secrecy in him, prevalent upon all these qualifications of a Soldier, which made him so fitt an instrument in the hand of divine providence to work his Majesties restauration. Hence he carried it all so closely, that I believe no man to this day can positively say, that he designed any more, than a generall quiet of the land: and so he framed his designs, suitable to the opportunities, that were given him; but that he wish't, that that might be procured by the means of his Majesties happy return, no man can rationally doubt. And in this he shewed the solidity of his judgment, in that when despairing Hasslerig and his party offered him the crown, it was no temptation to him.

Monk

Monks first
policyes to
make his
own Army
firme to
himselfe.

Monk being now to cutt out his modell, like a good Workman, first looks after his tools, and so separating his Army in Scotland into severall places, that they might not (if any such humor was in them) confederate together; he so lays this designe, that on a sudden he changes such Officers, as he knew unsecure to him, and well affected to his Opposers; and having preserved such of his Officers, as the Council of the Army here in England had resolved to remove, he knew these men would be well fix'd to him, and so as he had opportunity, advanced them: and he had so many good Agents among his common soldiers, that the disaffected Officers had no great influence upon them. For his conjunction with the Civill power was a great assurance to his Army, that they should be well paid and provided for: and his Declaration unto the Civill power, that he resolved, that the Military should be subservient to them, put them at great ease, that this Army would not be so restless, and humerous, and uncontrollable, as the other.

And thus all changes are very hopeful, but usually, when grounded upon faction, as deceitfull, one as the other; for upon a moveable thing (as faction is)

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an immoveable (as peace should be) cannot be well sett. Soon after this follows as great an instance of Gods (not mans) governing the world: (and of his working light out of darknes, and of the periods, that he gives to men's and states prosperity, setting bounds and limitts thereunto, that men may acknowledge, that it is not their sword, but his hand that helps them, or that it is he, that takes away or settts the edge of the sword) as perchance many ages in any History hath afforded. For hence forward Lamberts veteran, prosperous, and lately victorious Army seems emasculated, and gives as little instance of courage, as of counsell or conduct: for they perceiving, that Monk was designing to support that power, that they were intending much to lessen, if not overthrow, they seem on a sudden to be amated; and Lambert thus unsteddy, Monk and he interchange some letters, which Monk did, that he might protract time the better, and modell his Army: and like a wise Generall, having a very good reputation every where, where he had bin, he writes into Ireland to satisfie that Army of his intentions, and he proposes to Fleetwood, and the great men of the Army at London, to send up Commissioners amongst them, to shew,

Commission-
ers sent to
Monk.

shew, that his designe was no more, than to preserve the rights of the people, and the liberties of Parliament. He holds intelligence with some active and leading Ministers, especially one Mr. Bowles at York, who had great influence upon the Lord Fairfax; for he knew, how considerable that great man was in those parts; and with some old Officers likewise, especially one Smithson. On the other side, the Southern Army, with the countenance of the Independent Churches, think it not unnecessary to send some Commissioners to Monk into Scotland, and the men of God, who had decryed and outed the Bishops for meddling with any thing, that was secular, civill, or military, from the very beginning of these revolutions, are the active instruments in all important Secular or Military affairs, as hath been touch't upon already: and therefore now Mr. Caryll (a great Independent Minister) is principally to manage this affair with Monk; and he is to let him know, how fatall such a breach, as was like to be, would prove to the people of God; that the Independent Churches would not interpose or justifie the right of either party; but they thought it fitt to lay before Monk, that his province was onely to keep Scotland quiet, and

and not to engage in the differences of England; and therefore since he could not have any true information of the state of affairs, nor had he any call thereunto, (for he was not Phanatick enough to pretend to that) it became him not to interpose. In the mean time whilst Monks Commissioners were treating in London, and these with him in Scotland, he had gained so much time, as to purge the disaffected Officers out of his own Army; tho' they were neither inconsiderable men, nor of a very small number. And tho' his Commissioners at London had made up a rash peace, yet did he not want dexterity to cavill upon seeming good reasons, and to require a further explanation. All this while Lamberts Army (as if it had a damp or blast from heaven put upon it) makes no brisk progress or advance towards Scotland; only they marched as far as Newcastle, which prevented Monks first designe of surprizing that place; and there passed frivolous Treaties betwixt him and some of Lamberts Officers. But in the mean time Monk holds close correspondence with Scott and Haslerig, and those of the Council of State here; and he writes unto the City of London, that it became them to be more active in the vindicating
their

their own liberties, than hitherto they had bin; and thus he keeps up the fermentation thro' the whole body. And that he might appear to proceed deliberately and calmly, and not to give jealousy, that he was giving way to the Scots, either to cast off the yoke, which they lay under, or to arme themselves; or that his kindnes and better usage of them, than formerly, should raise any new jealousies, that the King was in the bottom of this designe, he leaves such garrisons in Scotland in such important places, and so aptly disposes them, that they might communicate and assist each other, and be able to bridle the Scots, if they innovated. And he gives the Scotch Nobility no further leave to arme themselves, than might secure them from surprisalls at home, if in his absence by a contrary Party danger to that Nation should appear.

Monks
march into
England.

And now with the main of his body he draws to England, and fixes his camp along the river Tweed at a town, called the Cold-stream; and this encourages the Councill of State here at London so to own him, as to send him a Commission to be Generall of all the forces in England and Scotland. The City of London is now animated to refuse taxes, and send by their Sword-bearer a particular message

sage to him. Portsmouth declares, if not for Monk, yet for Monks Declaration: and that eminent Sea-man, and most generous hearted and intelligent Person, Lawson, (for I had afterwards good acquaintance with him, when he was highly loyall) did the like with the Fleet. And the Irish Brigade here in England brake off from Lambert, and are brought over unto Monk. Nay even in Ireland, the chiefe of the Army there seem to own his proceedings; and London and Portsmouth and the Fleet so startle Lambert, that being unwilling to grapple with Monk in Scotland, whether by his own intimidations or parties advice, is uncertain, he chooses rather to retreat and assist his friends at London, and to reduce Portsmouth, than to contest Monk, or secure the North. And now not onely others, but his own Army look upon him in a dwindling condition; and so these newes's and want of pay, (which had prest him for some time) daily dispirit and lessen his army: but what gave them their deaths wound was, that they understood Fleetwood was now truly enlightened, and had laid down his Commission, and acknowledged, that the hand of God was upon them, and blasted their counsells, and spitt in their faces. And thus they must end in Scriptural phrases,

Fleetwood
layes downe
his Commis-
sion.

as they began their rebellion with misapplications of texts of Scripture ; for untill this time all that was applicable unto Gods people, was still applicable unto them ; and their cause must be supposed to be Gods cause ; and then Merroz, and all that came not out to their assistance, was to be curst bitterly, because they came not out to the help of the Lord against the mighty ; when at the same time they were hunting the Anointed of the Lord, as a partridge upon the mountaines ; and God was to be praised for the avenging of his Israel, *when the people willingly offered themselves, and when the governors of the land offered themselves willingly among the people* : and when they were exercising the highth of their cruelty against their brethren, they had (forsooth) commission from heaven to do it : for God had made them an harrow even with teeth. And I remember among many other such misapplications, I took great notice once, how satisfied Cromwells spirit was, when he interlarded in one of his letters out of Ireland, that he did hope, *God would deliver him from the wrongfull dealings of men, that so he might keep his commandments* : that was, as I conceived, to deliver him from the uncompliant part of his own army ; for he look't for obedience

dience from them, when he had paid it neither to his Prince, nor his Masters, the two Houses: but few smell their own dung. And thus this meteor being burnt out, and ending in a stench, we will conclude this part of this story with a Scripture phrase likewise, that *doubtless there is a God, that judgeth in the earth*; and pray, that men would truly consider things by the law of God, the rule of their actions, before they apply those generall words of Scripture, which justifie or condemn an action, least they take the name of God in vain.

We are now come unto our last stage; and as seditious tumults overthrew our laws, so now the seditious tumultuaries, sensible of their own intanglements, are posselt with generall and violent passions to be restored to such settled laws, as may free them from the disorders and miseries; which their first tumults had brought them into: therefore the Poet was a Prophet, that sett down the beginning, and foretold the end of such like troubles in this distic: *viz.*

The generall
desire of
settlement
throughout
the king-
dom.

*Principium fuit abs iratâ plebe tumultus,
Finis ab iratâ plebe tumultus erit.*

For it hath ever bin observed, that multitudes in commotions, as they usually

E e over-

overthrow thro' ignorance and by violence settled and antient governments; so after a little experience they find licence or licentiousness will never have wisdom enough to plant true liberty: and then they discern their present state of liberty to be much worse, than their former state, which loudly they called servitude.

The Army in these times seek their asylum in a Parliament.

Fleetwood having thus laid down his charge, distracted thoughts must needs possess his army; and they, that could not depend upon themselves, must seek a support from some other body: and therefore now they are to call together the Parliament again; for this false tale (or word Parliament) was to be tyed to any dock't rump; and so several Members meeting at the Speakers house, whither came divers of the Colonells, they draw up the regiments in Lincolns-Inn-fields, and the Speaker assumes the chair, and then Popham, Thompson, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Alured, and Markham are commissioned to order and conduct the Army, and to suppress the insurrections &c. and to observe the directions of Parliament. And the first thing these new Masters do, is to command Lambert to disband his forces; and that we may perceive, that this was Gods, and not mans, hand, as Monk was now leaving Scotland

New government of it.

land in a secure and peaceable state, and himselfe marching into England with the gross of his Army : (which was very small and inconsiderable to do his work, unless both the time and the work had bin Gods ; for his army was not above 4000 effective good foot, and under 1000 horse , and Lamberts and the army at London was twice as many) so in Ireland the like inclinations are found, and Dublin castle is surpris'd, and the Governor Jones, and the Commissioner Corbet, and many other considerable persons were taken in it, and Sir Charles Coot overcomes all his difficulties at Connaught : and into England Monk finds his march so open and free, that all the way up to London he meets with congratulations and addresses, civilities and honors, but nothing of opposition or disputes ; and the late Generall, the Lord Fairfax, now joyning with him, (tho' the Governour of Hull, Overton, stood misaffected) throughout all Yorkshire nothing appears against him ; and as he approaches nearer London, he hath more observances ; the Parliament, the City, the great Lords, all send messages, and discover somewhat by that pulse of their desires ; and his temper was so fitted to understand other mens thoughts, and conceal his own , that it is an easie

Changes in
Ireland.

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Changes in
Ireland.

thing to know, whose instrument he was, and to whom to attribute all this.

Clarges and
Morris.

We are told by a certain Writer, who it was, that principally managed his affairs, *viz.* Mr. Clarges, (who was his wives brother, and who was known to be an active and busy person) and after some time, or upon his coming to London, how Mr. Morris, afterwards Sir William, and Secretary of State, was called up to him from the West, who was a very good Scholar, (if he used it not a little too much) and a man of a sober judgment, and well affected to the peace of this Nation. These two persons, especially Clarges, in that History are represented, as giving him still such advices, as disintricated him from many difficulties; but so little is assigned either to himselfe or Morris, that I think he had not right done him; for by what I learn't from severall, that were sent unto him upon the way, and who treated with him singly, he seemed to me the great master and conductor of his own affairs; and that that important counsel, which was to remove the Parliament or Lamberts army at London out of it into separate and distant places and quarters, to make way, that his army might singly quarter in and about it, should be drawn out of any qui-

The English
or Lamberts
army removed
out of
London, to
make way
for Monks
Scotch-Eng-
lish Army.

ver

ver, but his own, being busines within his own sphere and profession, seems an intrenchment on his foresight. But this is certain, that the greatest men stand in need of active and able Ministers, when they are engaged in such important affairs, as this great man was at this time; and therefore I would have every one of them have their due share of their merits, and no more; for it was very obvious, had not the two Armies bin kept from mingling, they would hardly have bin kept from quarrelling.

All things thus clear for his reception at London, he was brought in with great triumph; and the reputation of his valour, and his subtilty in conducting and making use of an army, and the conjunctures of time so allayed the late surges of our tempestuous seas, that all things seem'd now becalmed. And yet after this, we shall find a change or two more; for Haflerig and his party being now on the top of the wheel, they could manage nothing without violence, passion, and headiness; and therefore having contributed so much towards the removing of all Monks difficulties, they thought Monk was equally obliged to maintaine and settle all they had projected. So as here is another twist of the gutts; for the Mer-

Monks
march into
London.

Haflerig's
activity and
his disap-
pointment.]

cury had not yet passed thro' Haslerig and his party. Therefore that they might dipp Monk at first into a scarlet dye, or involve him in the same crimes with themselves, an oath is prepared for the Council of State, and Members of Parliament: which abjures the King and the House of Lords. This divers of the soberest Members of Parliament refusing, he takes sanctuary under that example, and recommends to them rather the quieting the fermentation among themselves, than raising of it either in that House, or in the Kingdom in generall. But his caution was neither rudely rejected, nor kindly entertained. Next the danger of restoring the King and House of Lords, that which this prevailing body of men apprehended most, was the convening the secluded Members, and in this he kept himselfe very much undiscovered, and was the safer thereby; and unless it were to his two Confidants (tho' most of the Addressees, that were made to him by the Nobility and Gentry upon the way had a tendency thereunto, or rather for a new free Parliament) he was undiscernible.

Monk conducted to the House of Commons.

With great ceremony he is conducted to the House of Commons; and you must think a very learned and eloquent Speech was made to him, when an illiterate and

and even ungrammatical man (Lenthall the Speaker) made it: for so certainly he was. Herein they acknowledge his great services, and complement them; he professes his great obligations, and resolution of serving them. But at the core both sides soon began to putrifie, and (like a pear) we may perceive, that the transition from ripe to rotten was very speedy. For they are not long, before he observes, that they call him Commissioner Monk, not Generall, and he as soon dives into the meaning. And now arises a new neglect of this new government: for the City of London desiring to be excused from paying of taxes, till the Parliament was filled with a just number of Representatives, Haslerig, and Scott, and the rest of the generall Council of State take such an offence thereat, that they think to employ their new unsatisfied Generall upon a design, that would be too hard for him, or was like to make him odious: (and we know the number of his soldiers for the doing so great a work was very small) and he is required by the Parliament to seize on the persons of eleven eminent, but refractory, Citizens, (whereof he took in his custody nine) and to commit them to the Tower, and to pull down the posts and chains of the a-

Monks jealous
loufyes.

The City of
Londons
backward-
nes to pay
taxes.

Monks taking party with them.

Monks taking party with them.

Writes to the House to fill up their number.

venues, and at last to take down the gates and portcullices of the City, and to quarter his soldiers there. Which command being very unpleasing to himselfe as well as to his own Commanders and soldiers, and some of the wisest Citizens humbly and submissively reasoning the same with him, he writes to the House to mitigate the severity of his orders: but they the more inflamed at it, make their directions the more positive. But he observing the temper of his new Masters, and the resolvednes of the City, and having some whispers, what they meant to do with him, in case he returned among them, he thought it wiser to conciliate the great Corporation to him, than to depend on his new Masters, to whom if he had returned, it was verily believed, they would have sent his head to one place, and his body to another. And therefore valuing his own strength with the conjunction of this body of men, and the inclinations of the whole nation, and he having wrought upon divers of the Commanders of the other part of the Army, he thought he had passed Rubicon: and therefore was with speed to maintaine, what he had with so much resolution begun. Whereupon he immediately writes to the House of Parliament, (as they called it) and complains

plaints of Lamberts and Vanes and Ludlows being too much countenanced by them against him, and that the most sober and conscientious Laymen and Ministers of the kingdom were excluded from employment in either kind, by tending them oaths, which they could not take: whereupon he grounds a desire, that within two or three dayes they would issue out Writts to fill up their numbers; that this body sitting some time, a full and freely elected House of Parliament might ere long succeed them. The House dissembles the resentment they have of this letter, and Scott is sent unto him to assure him of their high opinion of his services, and to recall him to his lodgings at Whitehall again. But he resolves, having reconciled himself to the Citizens, not to change his post, and in London he admits a conference between the secluded and sitting Parliament men. And the result is, that the secluded Persons should be readmitted: and that new Writts should issue out for the summoning of a Parliament to meet at Westminster the twentieth day of April 1660. And that the secluded Members might securely take their places, he marches now down to Whitehall with his Army, and causes his guards to secure their passage to the House; and

The secluded
Members re-
admitted,
and a new
Parliament
summoned.

and then to his own army and the disperst regiments he gives assurance, that nothing was intended by all this of alteration of government, but that it should continue as a free State and Common-wealth ; and more amply to the other regiments, that lay disperst, he communicates the same by severall letters.

Monk tempted to take on him the crown.

The French Ambassador busy.

The secluded Members thus admitted , Haslerig and some other Leaders address to him, and tempt him to take upon him the government it selfe : and tho' he refused it, yet he used them civilly, and promised Haslerig, if he would acquiesce, he should find all security : and the Ambassador of the King of France, having winded this proposition, finds means for a conference with Clarges, and to desire by him to assure the Generall, that if he had any aime to assume the government himselfe, his Master would be a very steddily friend to him ; or if his eye was cast upon the King, he would be ministeriall thereunto ; (for he that had dismiss him his own country , would have bin very loath to have seen his Majesty retorne home without his having bin instrumentall therein ; or he that had cast in some of his colouintida into our pottage all this time, was unwilling, it should want a little of his cookery now.) But tho' this

this wise Generall admitted a respectfull conference with him; yet he made him soon perceive, he was not susceptible of French counsells. And the Generall was tempted by an offer of Hampton Court, & the lands thereunto belonging, to be settled on him and his heirs; which he refused; but afterwards took the stewardship thereof. The Parliament thus mett, they make an assessment of 100000 *l. per menssem* for six months: they settle the Militia both in the City and Counties: they abrogate the Engagement against the King; and take it off of the file: they repeale the Act for the former Council of State; and make a new Council consisting of 31 men, wherein were Pierpoint and Crew, Lord Fairfax and Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashly-Cooper and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Lord chief Justice St. Johns and Sir Harbottle Grimston &c. these Gentlemen I mention, that we may know, who at that time predominated. Some of the old Officers of the old Army begin to mutiny against the Parliament and Council, as if this body of men were in the direct way of bringing in the King. The Generall quiets all, telling them, that they were not long now to sitt, that a new and free Parliament was to meet; and that all persons, that had bin of the Kings party, were to

A Tax of
100000 *l. per*
menssem for
6 months.

The Generall's policy
to quiet the
mutinies of
the Officers
of the old
Army.

be

Elections of
severall of
the Kings
party.

Conferences
between se-
verall Lords
and some of
the Kings
friends.

be seclused fom all employment both in State and Army: and with these anodynes he hinders further fermentation. Upon the dissolution of this Parliament, a new one being called, let the prohibitions be what they would, elections are freely made of the Royal party; for they had made addressees, expressing their amicable dispositions and inclinations to a generall amnesty, and their readines to observe the determination of the expected Parliament. And therefore it cannot be now thought, but that it was a fitt season for the King to make addressees to the leading, men and for them to make professions to him of their inclinations to revert to their duty. And after some time, the great Lords, Warwick, and Manchester, and Say, and some chiefe Members, have private conferences with some persons of the Kings party, as Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Geoffry Palmer, and my selfe, the unworthiest. Not many weeks after, without the knowledge of the Lords, Mr. Annesly (now Lord privy Seal) Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir William Morris mett with the same persons from the Generall: to the end that the King might see their good inclinations thro' a medium, which was not likely to deceive him. And tho' they did the same thing

thing afterwards themselves by particular Messengers, whom they sent over to the King; yet they thought this a good means early to be rightly understood: and the Generall was so well satisfied, that he confest, that there was not a meeting in town, but he had some intelligence of it, save of this; which assured him of their secrecy, and yet he knew not, that the same persons mett at the same time with the Lords.

This I say not to creep into a little share in bringing back our King; for from the bottom of my heart I think, that it is a sacrilege to rob Gods providence of any part of it; unto him belongs the glory of the whole, who onely can rule the unruly affections of men: he only could still this storme, and allay the madnes of this people. If he had not in this work made his own arme bare, and his interposition visible, mans wisdom or policy had never brought it about; down right force (and that must have bin forraign) was improbable to heve done it: but to effect it by bowing the hearts of all Israel to their exiled David, and without blood, could be no hand, but his, who said, *he would utterly destroy Israel, but save Judah, but not by the bow or sword.* And he that out of the series of this story

makes

makes not this observation himfelfe, deserves not a prooffe thereof by a recapitulation of the particulars. Next unto the divine hand, not the honor, but the iffue of it is due to the firft rebellious principles of all our Innovators; for a wife, loyal, and noble Lord was wont to fay, that thefe principles were fo falfe and fo pernicious, that they had fcarce left virtue enough among men to keep fociety peaceably and beneficially together. They were made to overthrow, but not to fettle any government, but after they have been experimented, they are difcovered; and men grow weary of them, and as a naturall confequent thereof, are ready to refettle themfelves upon that foundation, which they had overthrown.

Thefe two things well weighed, the great man, Generall Monk, may well have affigned to him the reft: for tho' he moved perchance, as a natural instrument at firft, and difcerned not, what would be the end; yet furely at laft he was a voluntary and morall instrument in Gods hand; and by a loyall heart, prudent head, and ftout hand designed and effected what was fo happily brought about.

He

Monks conference with
Sir John
Greenville,

He had expounded himselfe, some little time before this, to that very prudent young Gentleman, Sir John Greenville, who was introduced to him by a safe hand, Sir William Morris, and who was received upon the great good affection, the Generall bore unto his family; and it was a grateful one; for the Generall had bin bred up a young Soldier under Sir Richard Greenville, who was an old experienced Soldier, tho' his nature was tempered with great severity, if not cruelty. But the Father of this Gentleman, tho' not bred a Soldier, yet was so naturally adapted to it, and was so full of humanity, as well as cleer courage, that having been well acquainted with him, as a Member in the long Parliament, I was heartily sorry, when, tho' so honourably and victoriously, he fell at the rencounter at Landsdown: and he left this noble Gentleman, now Earl of Bath, and his younger Brother, Bernard, heirs of his loyalty and courage. By this Gentleman then the Generall had received a letter from the King, to which he made a dutiful and wise reply, but wrote not back. However by the Generalls advice the King removes immediately out of the Spanish quarters, and goes to Breda. All this I thus early bring in, that it may be discerned, how his Majesties affaires in
so

Lambert
escapes out
of the Tow-
er, and heads
a disconten-
ted party.

Defeated by
Ingoldsby.

so short a time afterwards so soon ripened; and how wisely the Generall and his Ministers managed the same: and with what prudence and authority they quieted the soldiery, who of all parties were taking care for their own arrears and pay. About this time Lambert, who was a Prisoner in the Tower, makes an escape from thence; hoping to be the head of the discontented party in the army and nation. But the Generall hearing, that he was gone towards the North, sent forces so early to oppose him in divers places, and committing a chief care of that affair to Colonell Ingoldsby (a Gentleman of a good family, and a very daring and expert Officer, and one grown sensible, how he was deceived, when he was unhappily drawn in, whilst he was a very young man, by Cromwell, who was his kinsman, to command a regiment in his army, and who now sought some occasion to signalize his loyalty, which he was prepared and ready to have done in Sir George Booths rising) this Gentleman with Colonel Streater having precisely heard, where Lambert was about Daventry, so briskly engaged him, (and both Lambert and his men were perceived so soon to be faint and irresolute) that the two parties coming to grapple for it, some of Lamberts men soon came over

over to Ingoldsby, and others gave the sign of their submission, by holding down the noses of their pistols. Major Creed, who was with Lambert, endeavoured to procure from Ingoldsby a permission, that Lambert might escape: but being refused that, Lambert by flight endeavoured to make the same; but Ingoldsby by a swift horse soon stopt him, and singly charg'd him, and then he as meanly surrendred himself his prisoner. There were but few men slain, but many taken prisoners; and it was all the blood, that was spilt throughout this great action of bringing home the King. This small rencounter was a very important action; for here was Colonell Okey, and Axtell, and Cobbet, and Creed, and divers other stout Commanders, who were as resolute men, as any were in the old Army: and if they had had time given them for all the discontented persons to have come in, and had had one day of good success, the reduction of them might have bin as difficult a business, as by God's blessing it was an easy one.

The Old Parliament having dissolved themselves, and a New called to meet on the 25th of April 1660. Sir Harbottle Grimston being chosen Speaker

New Parliament.

The Kings
letters to the
Parliament,
&c.

of the House of Commons, and the Earl of Manchester Speaker of the House of Lords, the King adjusted his business so well, that in this nick of time, he had sent over again Sir John Greenville with a commission to Monk to be Captain-Generall of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and he likewise brought letters to both Houses of Parliament, the City of London, and the Navy: and the Generalls letter was to be communicated to the Officers of the army, and the Council of State. The letter to the Houses had a Declaration enclosed in it, and so had that to the Commons. It promised an act of Oblivion and generall Pardon; in point of religion, such a liberty to tender consciences, who disturbed not the peace of the kingdom, as should be agreed on by Parliament: it promised payment of all arrears to the soldiery. And his Majesties letters had so good an influence on both the Houses, (tho' it begun in the Lords House) that they forthwith declare, that by the antient and fundamental laws of the kingdom the government ought to be administred by the King with the Lords and Commons; and thus his Majesties title is acknowledged,

The Parliaments
recognition of the
Kings title.

ed, and then the two Speakers and Members of both Houses (tho' it was declared, that there was no necessity thereof, the title not depending thereon) attend upon the ceremony, with the Heralds, who are appointed to make Proclamation, both at Westminster-Hall, Whitehall, Temple-Barr, and the old Exchange &c. of his Majesties right of succession: and 50000 *l.* is ordered to be sent to the King for the expenses of his Majesties return, and 10000 *l.* for his Royall Highnes, the Duke of York, and 5000 *l.* for the Duke of Gloucester; and answers are made to his Majesties letters, and select Commissioners from both Houses are sent to his Majesty with the votes of Recognition: as likewise others from the City, with a present of 10000 *l.* to his Majesty, 1000 *l.* to the Duke of York, and another to the Duke of Gloucester; and the Journals are search't, and those Acts and Orders razed out, which were inconsistent with the Kingly government. These Commissioners find his Majesty at the Hague; and the English navy, under Admirall Mountague, attending on that coast, to waite him over, and with instructions to observe all his Majesties commands. The Duke of York is declared by the

King Lord High-Admirall of England ;
and Mountague his Vice-Admirall.

The King
leaves Hol-
land : and

lands at
Dover.

About the 23th of May the King takes shipping, paying all due respects to his Aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, to his Sister, the Princess Royall of Orange, (that family during his whole time of affliction having highly obliged him) and to the States of Holland, who had very magnificently treated and presented him ; and the weather being very stormy, it was two days, before his Majesty made Dover road ; at which town he landed ; but he made little or no stay there, because the town was not capable to receive the great train of Nobility, Gentry, and others, who were come to the shore to receive him : yet the Magistrates attended him, and the Minister presented him with a large Bible with gold clasps. That night he lay at Canterbury, where the Recorder made him an eloquent speech ; and the Mayor presented him with a tankard of massy gold. The Generall received the order of Knighthood, and afterwards of the Garter : the Earle of Southampton was sworn Privy-Councillor and Mr. Morris knighted, and declared Secretary of State. Whoever could have painted joy best, might have seen it here at its hight in every

every mans complexion: for from Dover to London I saw not a discontented face; and I believe the greatest crowds of people, with the greatest cheerfullnes upon all the road, and in all places, where his Majesty made never so short a stay, were to be observed, and as great joyes and triumphs, as ever were in this nation. His passage thro' London to Whitehall was very solemn and magnificent; and all the streets and windows were made partakers of the bravery; and the Lord Mayor and the severall Companies in great order and rich accoutrements attend him. He entred the City on his birth-day, the 29th of May; so as it was a regeneration; and because his Chappell was out of order, he made his Presence-Chamber his Oratory, wherein to pay his devotions that night to God. And thus the good Angel of God brought him honourably and peaceably home, and set him upon his Fathers throne, where may the same God long preserve him. Amen.

His happy
and glorious
returne to his
Palace at
Whitehall.

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